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JOHN REYNOLDS

BY

JESSIE MCHARRY
A. B. University of Illinois, 1911.

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

IN THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
1912

JOHN REYNOLDS.

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JOHN REYNOLDS.

By Jessie McHarry, A. B., University of Illinois, 1911.

CHAPTER I.

The Passing of the Frontier in Illinois.

In the first half of the nineteenth century when the great wave of immigration swept westward, at first from the southern and eastern states of the Union, but later from far off Ireland and Germany, Illinois received her share. From among the great heterogeneous mass of humanity which came, there arose leaders who were able to guide the destiny of the great state whose opportunities they had come to enjoy. The careers of some of these leaders, because of their long continued influence, form important chapters in Illinois history. Among this class, John Reynolds is perhaps unsurpassed for he was associate justice of the Supreme Court of the State, legislator, governor and congressman, this whole period of service aggregating twenty-five years. Since he was a man interested and instrumental in the social, economic and political development of the State, an insight into his activities reveals, at least, certain important phases of Illinois development.

In 1818 when John Reynolds secured his first public office,[1] associate justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois, the State was still a frontier region. It had made only a mere beginning toward becoming a settled community. Immigrants had not flocked to it as they had to Kentucky and Ohio.[2] The two decades previous to 1818, however, had done much for the future of the State. In 1800 the lack of an efficiently organized government, doubtful

[1] Reynolds, My Own Times, 211.
[2] Census, 1800: Ill., 2,458; Ohio, 45,363; Ky., 220,955.

land titles, Indian troubles, the unsettled status of slavery;[3] and even the very prairie[4] nature of the country seemed to divert immigration into other channels. Before 1818 the perplexing questions of land titles had been cleared up, and lands opened up for sale;[5] and closely allied to this was the securing of the extinguishment of Indian claims in a large part of the State. These and similar acts encouraged immigration and in 1818 Illinois was admitted into the Union as a state. During the years from 1800 to 1813 the population had increased from 2,458 to about 40,000;[6] an indication of the rapid growth of the coming years.

In 1818 the settlements which had been made, were to be found chiefly in the southern part of the State, and even there they were confined for the most part to the margins of the largest rivers.[7] The most of the State was still a wilderness. Fifteen counties had been formed and twelve of them occupied only about one-fifth of the State.[8] The whole northern section was divided into three large counties, Madison, Bond and Crawford, and was for the most part unoccupied except for a few scattered settlements along the banks of the largest rivers. By 1819 Shawneetown, Carmi, Cairo, Edwardsville and Belleville had been incorporated as cities, and the incorporation of Alton and Vandalia two years later indicated the movement of population up the Mississippi and Kaskaskia rivers.[9] These were not large cities to be sure, but they mark the advance of the frontier northward.

These settlements, confined so largely to the southern part of the State were, for the most part, made up of immigrants from the southern states. There was only

[3] Ind. Hist. Soc. Pub. II., 455.
[4] Ibid, 485.
[5] Public Land I., 741.
[6] Reynolds, My Own Times, 209.
[7] Reynolds, My Own Times, 176.
[8] Blue Book, 1905, p. 407.
[9] Blue Book, 1905, p. 439, et seq.

an occasional settler from New England, and the foreign element was very small. The French influence which had been predominant up to the last of the previous century was becoming lost in the American.[10] The French who had remained in Illinois until this time were not of the better class and so had little influence.[11]

A list of one hundred and six settlers who came to St. Clair and Randolph counties during the period from 1800 to 1818 compiled from the county histories which is probably as representative of the settlers of the period as any list that can be obtained, shows the source of the immigration. Of the one hundred and six, thirty per cent came from Kentucky, twenty-seven from South Carolina; and about eight per cent each from Pennsylvania, Virginia and Tennessee. Since Kentucky was the gateway to other regions, her larger per cent is accounted for by immigrants giving their last stopping place as their home. There were probably only a few settlers from New England. Only the nativity of those who became leaders as John M. Peck, from Connecticut, John Messinger, of Vermont, and Elias K. Kane, from New York,[12] are shown. There was no doubt an occasional family from New England such as that at Collinsville in Madison county, opposite St. Louis, where the three Collins brothers from Litchfield, Connecticut, located in 1817.[13] Among the foreign immigrants there is record of a few

[10] Reynolds says, there were about 800 Americans in Illinois in 1800, which is probably not far from correct. (My Own Times, 32.) A petition written in 1800 by the inhabitants of St. Clair and Randolph counties in regard to slavery contains twenty English names out of a total of one hundred and twenty-six. (Indiana Hist. Soc. Pub. II., 455.) A similar memorial written in 1805 contains one hundred seventy-two American names out of three hundred and fifty. Thus the Americans were rapidly increasing. (Ibid, p. 483.) A list of marriages solemnized in Randolph county from 1809 to 1811 is given and of this list not more than nine or ten per cent are French. (Randolph Co. Hist., 112.) The list of members in the General Assembly in 1812 shows how supreme American Influence had become. (Ills. H. C. Vol. III., 86).

[11] Alvord, Cahokia Records, I. H. C., V. Intro.

[12] Bateman & Selby, Hist. Encp. of Illinois.

[13] Mathews, Expansion of New England, 206.

Germans in Illinois prior to 1818.[14] Two or three German names appear in Cahokia. There were also some Germans in St. Clair county. As early as 1816 a number of Swiss families under the leadership of Leonhard Steiner were settled in that county and gave the name of "Dutch Hill" to their locality. The English settlement in Edwards county also had its origin in this early period. It was lead by Birkbeck and Flower and many were persuaded to come from England and find new homes in Illinois.[15]

These settlers who came into this great western region with all its varied resources, were men of widely different interests and motives. There were some who came merely for the love of change,[16] or because they loved the freedom and danger of the frontier better than the restrictions of the more settled areas. Others had found the older states yielded them only a scanty living and came to Illinois to "secure a larger settlement of land than they could ever hope to secure" in the east.[17] Unpleasant social and political relations from which men sought to escape, were in existence in some of the older communities. This was particularly true in foreign lands, and the English troubled by economic conditions at home sought relief by immigration to Edwards county.[18] There were also certain districts in America, as the uplands of South Carolina where disturbing social relations existed.[19] Settlers came to Illinois to escape from the social ostracism imposed on the lower classes by the aristocratic land holders of that section. But Illinois offered opportunities for men of a more distinguished class. There were men of education and ability who sought the west because of the great possibilities it

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[14] Faust, German Element, 457-8.
[15] Flower's Letters, in Thwaite's Early Western Travels, X., 91.
[16] Wood's English Prairie in Ibid, 310.
[17] Amer. State Papers, Public Lands, I., 256.
[18] Sparks, Eng. Set. in Illinois.
[19] Schaper, "Sectionalism and Rep. in S. Car." In Amer. Hist. Assn. Report 1900, p. 219.

afforded for political leadership. Elias K. Kane of New York and Jesse B. Thomas were men of this type.[20] However, there were opportunities in other fields than politics. Men like Peck imbued with the missionary spirit came to the State to become the founders of churches and schools, an indication of the advancing civilization.[21] Although in 1818 Illinois was still a frontier region in the number and character of its settlers, more than a beginning had been made toward its development. The next ten years brought great changes.

While in 1830 there were still numerous examples of all the inconveniences of frontier life, much of the old roughness had worn off.[22] There were still Indian troubles, lands held without titles, unbridged streams, and regions far from any market, but they did not exist in all parts of the State. Much had been done during the previous decade to free the State from such troubles. The Indians had been pushed northward until for the most part their lands were above a line drawn due west from the southern end of Lake Michigan. A treaty in 1819 with the Kickapoo Indians had secured much of this.[23] By 1832 the United States entered into a treaty with all the various tribes in the northern section to give up all their claims in Illinois; but the Indian problem was not settled until after the Black Hawk War. There was also a dawning of an easier mode of communication: two steamboats were plying on the Illinois river as far as Peoria[24] and rates up stream were about as cheap as those down.[25] As a result of these improvements the whole character of the State seemed better.

Social conditions had also undergone a change. The frontier mode of dress had almost disappeared before

[20] Bateman and Selby, Hist. Encyclopedia of Ill.
[21] Reynolds, My Own Times, 429.
[22] Boggess, Settlement of Ill., 170.
[23] Indian Laws & Treaties, 345; 349; 372.
[24] Ford, Hist. of Ill., 96.
[25] Boggess, Settlement of Illinois, 163.

1830.[26] The "raccoon-skin cap, linsey hunting-shirt, buckskin breeches and moccasins" were rarely to be seen. They had given place to the cloth coat, a hat of wool or fur, and boots or shoes. With these changes in dress had come advances along lines of education.[27] The problem of education by State aid was taken up in 1825 and although the provision of taxation for their support was repealed in 1829 as not being in accord with public sentiment its very consideration showed that education had friends and a future before it. By 1830 two seminaries had been founded in the State; that of Rock Springs established in 1827 by the Baptists under the leadership of Peck,[28] and McKendree College established the following year by the Methodists.[29] Thus by 1830 Illinois was gradually losing its frontier character and increasing in opportunities and attractiveness.

This great change in the character of the State was only possible because of the large immigration of this period. By 1830 the population had increased to 157,445.[30] Fifty counties had been formed, showing a large increase in the central and western sections.[31] Nevertheless as late as 1830 settlers clung to the prairies adjoining the timbered tracts and consequently were still to be found pushing their way northward along the river valleys. Settlements had spread as far up the Illinois rivers as Peoria; with a few scattered along, often one hundred miles apart, farther up the river.[32] The region of the Sangamon was found very favorable for settlement and rapidly filled up.[33] The population had also followed up the course of the Mississippi. It was very sparse in places but it extended northward as far as

[26] Ford, Hist. of Ill., 94.
[27] Boggess. Set. of Ill., 148.
[28] Reynolds, My Own Times, 429.
[29] Ibid, 431.
[30] U. S. Census, 1900.
[31] Blue Book, 1905, p. 422.
[32] Ford, Hist. of Ill., 102.
[33] Reynolds, My Own Times, 237.

Galena, the center of the lead region.[34] In 1830 Quincy had a population of two hundred and its very favorable situation for a landing place encouraged settlement in the rich agricultural district back of it.[35] At the same time the eastern section of Illinois still had large sections unsettled, which was probably due to the apparent inaccessibility of the region.[36] A broad tract of extensive prairies which scarcely afforded wood or water, seemed to the early settler to preclude a possibility of settlement. Two-thirds of the population in the whole eastern section was in Vermilion and Edgar counties in the Wabash river region.[37] In the northeast Chicago had not yet developed; its population probably ranged anywhere from thirty to one hundred.[38] Andreas in his history of Chicago publishes a list of thirty-two voters who cast their ballots in Chicago in 1830.[39] Its growth came later. It is apparent that the settlement of the State was continuing to be made from the south and was gradually pushing northward through the central part of the State with the river settlements in advance and the adjoining interior filling in as immigration increased.

As Illinois settlement worked up from the south, naturally the majority of the settlers were from the southern states, and yet there was probably even as early as 1830 a considerable per cent of men from the north. In Morgan county, which at that time was one of the river counties, there were twenty-five per cent not southerners if such a conclusion may be drawn from the list of three hundred and eleven settlers who came to the county before 1835.[40] Madison county also shows a number of immigrants from New England and the middle states.[41] Even on the Illinois and Mississippi rivers, how-

[34] Ford, 102.
[35] Pooley, Settlement of Illinois, 1830-50, p. 400.
[36] Pooley, Set. of Ill., 1830-50, 401.
[37] Boggess, Set. of Ill., 163.
[38] Pooley, Set. of Illinois, 476.
[39] Andreas, Hist. of Chicago, 112.
[40] Hist. of Morgan Co.
[41] Hist. of Madison Co., 103.

ever, the population was largely southern. Quincy had a large number from Kentucky; and the Illinois river region,[42] even as far as Peoria, had large numbers from Kentucky and Tennessee.[43] Although there were already some New Englanders, the great influx of population from that section, did not come until later.[44] It was also true that the foreign population up to 1830 was proportionately small as compared with that of later years. There were a few Germans and Irish who came chiefly to the cities which promised development. There arose also an English settlement in Edwards county and Englishmen were likewise scattered about in other parts of the State. It was at a later time, however, that the great flood of foreign immigration came. An analysis of the population in 1830 thus shows that although the larger proportion still remained southern there were indications of settlers from the northern states and from Europe who came in vast numbers during the next twenty years.

By the close of the two decades succeeding 1830, Illinois had lost many of its early frontier characteristics. Twenty years wrought many improvements. The troubles arising from the land titles and Indian depredations had given place to the questions of banks and the Mormon settlers. After passing through an age of wild speculation and its resulting reaction, the finances of the State had gradually resumed a settled condition. The most serious problems of transportation seemed solved by the introduction of steamers on the lakes and rivers. Railroads were not general, but a number were in progress of construction, by the year 1853.[45] Large numbers of new settlers came to change the character of the whole State, and originate that sectionalism, traces of which still exist today.

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[42] Pooley, 440.
[43] Ibid, 400-1.
[44] Mathews, Expansion of New England, 207.
[45] Williams, Trav. Guide and Map.

The settlement after 1830 was largely in the northern section of the State. Large numbers of immigrants came after the Black Hawk war had made its great opportunities known and the Erie canal had facilitated transportation from the east.[46] The years 1833 to 1837 were years of speculation and development but were followed by five years of depression, after which immigration again set in, in great numbers. By 1850 the population of the State was 847,524, an increase of four hundred and thirty-eight per cent in twenty years.[47] The census, which is complete for that year, shows the distinctly new elements in the population. The large number of native born inhabitants, forty per cent, indicates the rapid development of the State. The immigration was no longer in such immense proportions from the south. The New England and middle states surpass it in furnishing settlers. Eight per cent of the population of the State came from New York; seven and one-half from Ohio; and five and seven-tenths from Kentucky. That the foreign element had become a distinct feature in the population of 1850, is shown by the large per cent in the whole State and especially was this true in the cities. Thirteen per cent of the whole population was foreign born.[48] It came chiefly from Great Britain, Ireland and Germany. One-fifth of the people of Chicago were of Irish descent, while there were nearly as many Germans.[49] The largest part of the immigration was in the north. Of the cities which had 10,000 or more population in 1900, Peoria, Quincy, Rockford, Bloomington and Rock Island were all incorporated in the decade from 1840 to 1850, and are all northern cities.[50] Chicago is an example of the most marvelous growth. While in 1830 it had less than two hundred settlers, by 1850 its

[46] Mathews, Expansion of New England, 236.
[47] Census, 1850.
[48] Census, 1850.
[49] Seventeen per cent were Germans.
[50] Blue Book, 1905.

population numbered 29,375.[51] The greater part of the State was settled by 1850. It was only where there was a large expanse of prairie as in eastern Illinois or the Military Tract that settlers did not occupy the whole region, until assured of transportation by railroads.

With a predominance of settlers from north of the Mason and Dixon line in northern Illinois and men chiefly from the "cotton states" in the southern part, was laid the basis of a certain sectionalism whose traces still exist. Central Illinois was the common ground where men from both sections intermingled. Governor Ford[52] had contrasted the two types of settlers. The southern settlers, he says, were "a good, honest, kind, hospitable people, ambitious of wealth and great lovers of ease and social enjoyment." They did not, as a class, represent the "more wealthy, enterprising, intellectual and cultivated people from the slave states." In contrast, "The northern part of the State was settled in the first instance by wealthy farmers, enterprising merchants, millers and manufacturers. They made farms, built mills, churches, school houses, towns and cities; so that although the settlers in the southern part of the State are twenty, thirty, forty and fifty years in advance, on the score of age, yet are they ten years behind in point of wealth and all the appliances of a higher civilization." The northern section, with its more enterprising class of settlers gradually gained a dominance in the State and the leadership was no longer exclusively southern as it had been in previous years.

The new settlers brought in new elements of civilization. Schools and churches made more rapid advances. Reynolds says that in 1850 there were over one thousand churches in the State.[53] There were already a few men in the State who were beginning to take a pride in Illinois history. In 1844 the Historical and Antiquarian

[51] Census, 1850, p. 41.
[52] Ford, Hist. of Illinois, 280.
[53] Reynolds, My Own Times, 201.

Society of the State had been formed. There were a few men who even aspired to become men of letters. John M. Peck, Thomas Ford, James Hall, and John Reynolds had all written books before 1860. Governor Ford pointed out in the history he wrote, "It must not be thought that the people of this new country had just sprung up out of the ground with no advantages of education and society. They were nearly all of them from the old states, being often the most intelligent and enterprising of their population." They were evidently an enterprising class of people and although they found many needs, and encountered many difficulties, they were proving equal to the occasion.

Although the new elements in the population and the rapid growth of cities might seem to indicate a complete change in the character of the occupations of the State, such was not the case. Illinois was by nature an agricultural region, and such it remained. There were in 1850 sixty-five per cent of its male inhabitants over fifteen years of age engaged in agriculture.[54] The improved farming conditions made better means of transportation necessary and railroads were chartered. By 1853 there had been constructed a road from Alton to Chicago and one from that city to Galena; and a number of other roads were in construction.[55] This was only a small part of the whole general scheme of improvement for the State.

Such a general survey of the first fifty years of a rapidly developing frontier, must always show astonishing changes. Illinois suddenly found herself transformed as if by magic from a wilderness into a settled State with towns, cities and comfortable farm houses. Illinois of 1818 and Illinois of 1850 were radically different. The influence of a closer communication with the east meant a change in the character of the people, and a resulting change in the problems of the State. The pioneer leaders had no small share in shaping the ends of this prairie

[54] Census, 1850.
[55] Williams, Trav. Guide, Map.

State. They made the laws which guided it through its economical and political difficulties; they laid the plans for its social development; and so directed its course that the best of men were attracted within its borders. The results seem to have justified the course of these early Illinois statesmen and reflect credit upon such as can claim a share in shaping the early history of the State. Although the influence of these first statesmen seemed to wane with the passing of frontier conditions, and a new generation of leaders like Lincoln and Douglas came into control, what the first men did as pioneers was none the less important because it seemed to be overshadowed by the greater work which followed it.

CHAPTER II.

John Reynolds.

"There is a good deal of human nature in people" and naturally John Reynolds closely resembled the men of his times and of all times. He was a westerner when that section of the country was awakening to its possibilities. He lived in an age of democracy when men were swept into the raging whirl of the pursuit of power. Political power rather than a love of wealth appealed to him and he became a typical politician of his age. He differed from other politicians of his time in degree rather than in kind. His career is the career of many except that it extends over a longer period of time than that of most men, and includes more varied fields of activity.

John Reynolds was a westerner. He was such from his early childhood. His parents caught sight of "the dim outline of a mountain summit across the ocean" and determined to change their fortunes in Ireland for the greater promises of America. They had come to Pennsylvania in 1785 where three years later John Reynolds was born. As was the case with many others, they were allured by opportunities in the vast stretches of uncultivated lands beyond the Alleghanies, and left the east for Tennessee. But that state was only the gateway to the west, and by the year 1800, the Reynolds family was again seeking a new home, this time one that was to be permanent. They found it in Illinois in the Kaskaskia region.

As a child of twelve years of age, John Reynolds assisted his parents in cutting a way through fallen trees, and in rafting streams from Lusk's ferry, where Golconda now stands, up through Illinois to Kaskaskia. A trip which lasted four long weeks. Finally a site for their home was selected two and one-half miles east of

Kaskaskia and John Reynolds says, "We made mathematically, the seventh family in the colony."[56] The first impression of that wild unsettled region lingered in the memory of John Reynolds and in "My Own Times" he says, "it was so strange and uncouth to us, that if we had been landed on another planet we would not have been more surprised.[57]

Being the son of one of the earliest pioneers of the Kaskaskia region was no coveted privilege. It meant work, privation and few pleasures. The comforts of civilization had been left behind, and the business of western life was to fell trees, to clear and cultivate lands. The humble homes of these settlers were built amongst the tall prairie grasses in which wolves and other wild creatures prowled nightly. Surrounded by danger and spurred on by the necessity of earning a livelihood this family with many others learned the hardships of pioneer life. But hardships often prove "blessings in disguise," and so these gave an opportunity for the fullest development of energy and independence inherent in the lives of these men whose very pleasures were mingled with work.

While life on the frontier was fitted to develop a strong, energetic type of men, there was lacking in it many of the cultural influences of the east. Life in the west meant association with men of the frontier type, many of whom were accustomed to living on salt pork, cornbread and whiskey as a daily fare. It meant association with those who enjoyed the more primitive pleasures of fighting and gambling. On the whole there was little refinement or convention in the early settlers' homes. Their sterner qualities had been developed by experiences which had a tendency to blunt their finer sensibilities. They had nevertheless, a spirit of sociability and helpfulness which tended to develop within them the broader ideals of honesty, integrity and kindness of heart even though the

[56] Reynolds, My Own Times, 31.
[57] Ibid., 30.

finer distinctions of those virtues were unrealized. Such was the community where John Reynolds spent the early years of his life—the western frontier, a place which had so great an influence on his character. Had John Reynolds lived in a different age, in a different environment, his career would have been impossible. He was a man of his times. The frontier life, more than any other could have been, was conducive to the development of such traits within him that he has been called the "most interesting character of early Illinois history."[58] He was a democrat in a democratic community. There was little prestige from old family records among Illinois settlers; and sufficient time had not elapsed to establish an aristocracy based on wealth. Many had come to avoid the presence of wealth and social distinctions in the older states and felt no desire for them in their new homes. Their ideal was freedom and equal advantages for all. Like the men with whom he associated, John Reynolds was a democrat. He mingled with the people, knew them and trusted them. Gillespie said of him, "To him the voice of people is the voice of God." His Irish lineage gave him affability of nature which found a fertile soil in which to flourish in a democracy; and which became a first class attribute for a politician of his time. Governor Ford in his History of Illinois has very aptly described the character of the political leaders of his age.[59]

> "The great prevailing principle upon which each party acted in selecting candidates for office was to get popular men. Men who had made themselves agreeable to the people by a continual show of friendship and condescension; men who were loved for their gaiety, cheerfulness, apparent goodness of heart and agreeable manners."

So nearly does this coincide with the description of John Reynolds that Governor Ford might well have had

[58] Scott, Supreme Court of Illinois.
[59] Ford, Hist. of Illinois, 282.

him in mind when he wrote it. John Reynolds himself knew that he possessed these political talents and he was proud of the fact. He said in regard to his relations with the people:[60]

> "I was myself, tolerably well informed in the science of electioneering with the masses. I was raised with the people of the State and was literally one of them. We always acted together and our common instincts, feelings, and interests were the same." * * * I was and am yet, one of the people, and every pulsation of our hearts beats in unison."

This attitude marked him as one who could enjoy electioneering. In a state where newspapers were almost unknown except in a few of the larger towns, and where all means of communication was deficient, it was necessary for office seekers to come in personal touch with the people. Before an election he was engaged for months visiting the different sections of the State. In 1829, as a candidate for governor of the State, he was engaged in a most active campaign of electioneering which lasted for more than a year. The letters which he wrote to Governor Edwards at that time, bespeak the wonderful energy he expended in permitting no section to be unsolicited.[61] At one time he was making a trip through eastern Illinois in the counties of White and Vermilion; with a return through Shelby and Montgomery where he found the settlers were "new and strange to one another," and "that there was little said on the subject by the common people." At another time he records a tour of thirty-six days through the Wabash county region. He was ever alert for the least sign of opposition or wavering in support, and was always ready with a remedy. If he received a hearty welcome, he wrote to his friends, "There is an immense current against Kinney here. He will never be able to stem it." If he could feel

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[60] Reynolds, My Own Times, 297.
[61] Washburne, Edwards' Papers, 441, et seq.

a lack of enthusiasm it must be told likewise.[62] "I passed through Ferguson's Settlement or Silver Creek and find them halting and doubting more than I expected." As he could feel the reason for their lukewarm feeling, so he knew how to engender a warmth of enthusiasm in them. Perhaps the democrats of Gallatin county required a hand bill to convince them that he was not an "Adam's man;" or it may have been only a letter was needed from Governor Edwards to conciliate some doubtful voter.

During his campaigns his trips from one place to another were made on horseback and he says while he was canvassing for the governorship he wore out two horses and he himself was worn down to skin and bones. Such a course would have been altogether impossible for a man without an abundance of energy and a familiarity with strenuous exertions. Perhaps a story which was told about him during this canvass will best show the vigor with which he pursued men. One evening just at dusk when he was passing by a cornfield he saw a figure, "the effigy of a man," and approached it with his usual patronizing manner. "How are you? How are you, my friend? Won't you take some of my hand bills to distribute?" But to his amazement, it proved to be not a man at all, but a scare-crow."[63]

By actually visiting all the various sections of the State he managed to make many friends. He met all men on terms of familiarity. He was called "The Old Ranger" and was very proud of that title. It is said he had become so well-known by that sobriquet that if a letter bearing it had been dropped into any post office in the State it would have gone straight to Governor Reynolds at Belleville. He was well-known and he was popular. He mingled with the people in a way which gained many friends and convinced men of his democratic feel-

[62] Reynolds, My Own Times, 296.
[63] Reynolds, My Own Times, 296.

ings, and that in a community which prided itself in its independence, gave a strong supporting beam to his popularity.

Judge Scott says:[64]

> "His specialty was as a friend of the people. In the matter of playing the demagogue before the people he was great. He had no equal in that respect. Some of his opponents had equal disposition to play the demagogue, but they had not the ability to make it a success. In the hands of Governor Reynolds it had a charm that made it a splendid agency in the aid of his political aspirations. It had such a fascination when employed by him, it became respectable in the eyes of many who held it in detestation when attempted to be practiced by others. With him demagogism was a natural endowment equivalent to genius of a high order and by it and through it he achieved greatness."

Perhaps this spirit seemed more respectable in him, since it was more natural to him. Men felt a sincerity in his actions. He was a man who had met experiences similar to those of the people, who had felt needs identical to theirs. He felt no repugnance when mingling with the crowd. He felt they appreciated him and he enjoyed their favor. By an energetic personal canvass of the voters, which was both possible and effective in a frontier community, and in which John Reynolds was eminently successful, his career was possible.

John Reynolds did not possess that personal magnetism which marks a great leader. Forquer expressed this lack of one of the qualities of leadership in him when he was reviewing the political situation in 1830 in a letter to Governor Edwards. He says, "He does not seem to me to be the kind of a man to provoke the admiration of the crowd in times of heated party struggles. He is too timid, whilst his enemies are daring, defying and manly;

[64] Scott, Ill. Supreme Court, 172.

qualities that are always admired by the populace in proportion as they are ignorant, for their passion, and not sense governs them."[65] He failed to strike out boldly and independently in the political arena. He chose rather to pursue a course mid-way between two extremes, to advocate tried and safe policies. In 1830, when a candidate for governor, he was in the conservative wing of the Jackson party. He says, "I would not be used in the unreasonable and ultra work that many of the Jackson party wanted to pursue at that day. Our opponents entertained the ultra, rabid, proscribing spirit while we were more calm and conservative." For this reason he was called the "milk and cider" candidate and as a result of his opposition to the radical democratic party gained many votes from men who became Whigs. He evidently prided himself in his fair-mindedness but it approaches the truth more nearly to say he was "liberal in non-essentials," for he had certain principles which he maintained with a stubborn tenacity. As a matter of policy, he never condescended to abuse his political opponent and so gave the impression of perfect fairness and saneness. Although he was the head of a very effective political machine, according to his own writing, yet he says,[66] "at no time did I say ought against my opponent; but on the contrary spoke well of him as I had reason to do. I said that he was a natural great man and that the abusive handbills teeming against him were wrong and that I never circulated one, which was the truth. I observed that my friends were as free to act as I was in the canvass, although I did not sanction these malignant circulars; yet I could not restrain them. This conciliatory course gained me votes." He seemed always to emphasize the good will which should exist between members of the two political parties. His speeches were usually prefaced by a conciliatory paragraph, condemning "the violence and rancor we often witness in these

[65] Washburne, Edwards' Papers, 484.
[66] Reynolds, My Own Times, 295.

party discussions" and insisting that "each party is composed of American citizens and have equally the good of their common country in charge."[67] This attitude to political opponents gave the impression that he could see other men's view-points and appealed to those who were in quest of a safe and sane representative. A good representative he was, but he was not a great leader, for he did not have the genius of a leader.

John Reynolds was not a great orator although he developed a fair ability at speech making. As a lawyer he was never very successful and this was probably due in a large measure to his inability to make a speech well. His first attempt at "stump-speaking," as he terms it, was in 1829, when it became a necessity if he were to succeed in the gubernatorial contest. He says,[68] "I was persuaded to mount the stump; as the people expected it, I did not like it. I made rather a clumsy performance as I considered it to be." No doubt it was a "clumsy performance" when he bore that recollection of it for twenty years. His ability probably increased with practice and he became quite a master hand in making short popular addresses. He was the one chosen to make the eulogy in memory of Governor Ford at a meeting held in Belleville, after his death;[69] and again he made a fitting address upon the death of Colonel Johnson[70] of Kentucky, at a similar assembly. According to contemporaneous newspapers he was present at many meetings of local interests and usually took an active part in discussion, which made his ideas whether on railroads or politics, known to his constituents.

As a member of Congress or of the legislature he was also an active speaker. His addresses, such as are preserved, show a certain tact and diplomacy which bespeak a mind of keen perceptions. He knew well how to flatter

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[67] Illinois State Register, July 3, 1840.
[68] Reynolds, My Own Times, 294.
[69] Belleville Advocate, November 14, 1850.
[70] Ibid., January 9, 1851.

his listeners. In an address on the Cumberland road delivered before Congress in 1836, in a very flattering introduction, he remarked:[71] "Saint Paul said he was 'happy to have the privilege to address a judge who was learned in all the laws and customs of the Jews.' So do 'I think myself happy' to have the honor to present this subject before an assembly that are intelligent and learned in the laws and constitution of their country." He was able to sound the sentiment of his constituents or his audience and give them what they wished. He was inclined to make his addresses general rather than specific. His promise to voters was most often similar to this one:[72] "I am happy in the reflection, that I have always supported those principles of equality, which secure to every citizen all his privileges and rights, under our constitution, and it will be a pleasure to me to continue to support those principles." Some of his addresses in Congress were very long and often strangely lacking in unity. His address on the "Civil and Diplomatic Appropriation Bill" is very characteristic.[73] In the introduction to his address he warned his listeners that he intended to wander far afield. "I will on this occasion," he began, "though in a very humble manner, enter the prairie of political discussion in the committee of the whole and pursue the course that may be my own choice. I will do this without giving to the subject before the committee the least consideration whatever." With this introduction he began a review of the general political situation, turning from that to one of his favorite themes, the origin of the Democratic party in the old Jeffersonian-Republicans, and speaking on and on, not forgetting any subjects that were of perennial interest to him. The speeches which he made in Congress, however, were not of far reaching influence. He was

[71] Gales and Seaton, Reg. of Debates, December 22, 1856.
[72] Alton Spectator, Feb. 25, 1834.
[73] Illinois State Register, July 3, 1840.

somewhat disappointed in his influence. He reviewed the situation thus:

> "I entered this Congressional career with a determination to perform all I was able for my constituents, and I presumed it would be a good deal. I had been in the habit of effecting many measures in Illinois, and I sincerely believed I would be able to do the same in Congress. I thought some measures were so manifestly right and just—such as reducing the price of the public lands, obtaining appropriations to improve rivers, and the like—that they would be easily accomplished. But when I entered the halls of Congress, I discovered instantly that this body was much greater than I had supposed, and I could effect less than I had contemplated.[73 1/2]

His ability was small when compared with a Clay or a Webster. No doubt, John Quincy Adams regretted the time lost, when he recorded in his diary the discussion of the Treasury Note Bill was taken up "next by two hours of vulgar, coarse and silly buffoonery from Reynolds."[74] Undoubtedly, that cultured representative of Massachusetts considered many of the western Democrats as very uncouth both in the measures they advocated and in the manner of their presentation. It was not as a member of Congress, however, but as a member of the Illinois legislature that he exerted the most influence. It seems quite true that although his ability in oratory would never have made him famous, yet it was a necessary means to his success and a factor of some importance in his career.

Although John Reynolds did not possess the sterling qualities which usually mark men as leaders, nevertheless he had many characteristics which the common man admires. While many of his ideals were similar to those of the common people, he had certain talents which gave

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[73 1/2] Reynolds, My Own Times, 448.
[74] Adams, Memoirs, X., 414.

him a pre-eminence among them. His personal appearance marked him as no ordinary man. Dr. Snyder describes him thus:[75]

> "In stature Governor Reynolds was full six feet high, of stout build, not corpulent, but large-boned and muscular, weighing ordinarly about one hundred and eighty pounds. He was somewhat round shouldered, with one shoulder slightly higher than the other, and walked deliberately, with downcast look, and shambling gait. His face was long, furrowed, and always smoothly shaved, and in repose had a benevolent and reverential expression. His forehead was high, but not broad; his nose straight and well shaped, his eyes blueish-gray and his hair when young, dark brown. He was always gentlemanly in appearance and apparel, with modest but ungraceful manners."

Although he courted popularity he did not gain it at the loss of dignity. Governor Ford says,[76] "He never descended to masquerading in linsey hunting shirt and coon-skin cap to gain the rabble's favor; but invariably dressed in well made black clothing of fine texture; with well polished shoes, immaculate white shirt front and high silk hat." His polished exterior undoubtedly inspired a confidence among his associates. Men were flattered and pleased by the friendly attentions of one who appeared worthy of confidence and respect.

It was not only by his personal appearance that he gained respect. He seemed to have the ability also to make what he knew appear to the best advantage. To be sure John Reynolds was not uneducated and yet there are wide variations as to the estimates of the extent of his learning. Linder, in his "Reminiscences of the Early Bench and Bar of Illinois,"[77] says that he was well ac-

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[75] Snyder, Adam W. Snyder, 299.
[76] Ford, Hist. of Illinois, 299.
[77] Linder, Reminiscences; Second Edition, 148.

quainted with John Reynolds, having first known him as early as 1836. He says:

> "John Reynolds was somewhat of an odd man and feigned to be illiterate, when in truth he was a ripe scholar (which I have from the best authority), understanding the Greek and Latin perfectly, and being familiar with the ancient classics. He had drunk deeply of the Pierian spring, and had not allowed himself to be intoxicated by shallow draughts. But these accomplishments of his he seemed more disposed to conceal than to blazon forth to the world."

Linder, however, was an early western historian, which means that he paints all his pictures in glowing colors. Gillespie, who was also a contemporary of John Reynolds, had likewise received the impression that he was an educated man.[78] He writes, "The Governor's dislike to appear to be educated grew out of the contempt the early settlers had for 'book larnin'." Undoubtedly these men received the impression that he disliked to appear educated from his language. Governor Ford writes of John Reynolds:[79]

> "He had passed his life on the frontiers among a frontier people; he had learned all the bye-words, catch words, old saying and figures of speech invented by vulgar ingenuity and common among a backwoods people; to these he had added a copious supply of his own, and had diligently compounded them all into a language peculiar to himself, which he used on all occasions both public and private."

This peculiarity of language naturally gave men the idea that if he were educated it was not apparent from his speech.

John Reynolds has left a description of his education in "My Own Times."[80] When a boy his education was

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[78] Gillespie, Reminiscences, 16.
[79] Ford, Hist. of Illinois, 106.
[80] Reynolds, in My Own Times, 92.

very defective. There was no school in the neighborhood where he lived and that his training might not be completely lacking, he went during the winter evenings to a neighbor's home where he learned the fundamentals of arithmetc.[81] He was seventeen years old when a school was established in their district, and even then it was very uncertain in character because of the scarcity of teachers. At that time he could attend only on wet days and in the winter season. During the years 1806 and 1807 he was more fortunate and studied land surveying, navigation, reading, spelling and writing in a seminary northeast of Belleville, which he characterizes as "a good school taught by a competent teacher."[82] It was his college career, however, which gave him his reputation for learning. In his works he names and expresses his appreciation of the Latin writers which he studied in college. The list of Latin books is composed of a Latin grammar, Corderi, Selectae Profanis, Caesar's Commentaries, Ovid's Metamorphosis, Virgil's Georgics and the Æneid, Horace and Cicero. He adds that he looked over Sallust and many Latin writers. His comments upon this list of writers is quite as suggestive in indicating his appreciation of them as the list itself. He says:[83]

> "Caesar's Commentaries on his Gallic wars was studied by me, and much admired. Ovid's Metamorphosis was also read attentively. I did not much like this author; although he has considerable genius in changing girls into trees and the like. I then studied the works of Virgil, and greatly admired them. His pastorals are innocent, and as the ladies would say, 'sweet.' His Georgics are good. Many of the best principles of agriculture are there laid down. He is not so wrong in stating that bees will generate in the pounded carcass of a young heifer.

[81] Reynolds, My Own Times, 93.
[82] Ibid., 94.
[83] Reynolds, My Own Times, 113.

> But it was the "Ænead" that (I) so much admired."

This list and his comments do not seem to indicate that he was a very thorough Latin scholar.

John Reynolds' books do not indicate a large extent of training. They show a remarkable attention to minor details but no special ability to understand the broader significance of the facts. His illustrations and quotations indicate a remembrance of the most impressive scenes of Virgil and a familiarity with Burns and Byron. The whole book shows greatest lack or coherence with no attempt at logical planning. Although it shows genius of a certain order, it is not the work of a cultivated mind.

Even though John Reynolds was considered as having a college education by his contemporaries, later writers have doubted it. Judge Scott says of the college which he attended, "Really it was nothing more than a small private school for boys or young men kept by the Reverend Isaac Anderson." He thinks it is probable that what he studied was not more than what is termed a "common school education." Dr. Sndyer, who also had a personal knowledge of him says:[84]

> "He was well informed and knew something of a great variety of subjects, but his knowledge of very few of them was clear, thorough or comprehensive. In his intercourse with the people he feigned ignorance not for popular effect, as some of his biographers assert, but to conceal his real ignorance and mask his vanity and self esteem."

It seems whatever John Reynolds' education was, his familiar manner and peculiarities of speech gave the impression of an uncouth man. Although Gillespie and Linder believed he was educated, they received from what they believed was "feigned ignorance" the impression of an "unlearned man." John Reynolds' writing is not the work of a cultivated mind, neither in its liter-

[84] Snyder, Adam W. Snyder, 304.

ary form nor in its substance. If his Latin may be considered as an index to the nature of his college course he had probably received hardly more than a high school training of today. As he seems to have regarded Latin as his specialty this seems a fair test. Why, then, did his contemporaries receive such an exaggerated impression of his education? The sphere in which John Reynolds chose to move, it must not be forgotten, was a frontier community. There were very few of the mass of people of the State who knew Latin, or who were at all familiar with references to the classics. To be sure there were some exceptions. Ninian Edwards was a man of culture; Coles had received an education at William and Mary's college; Elias K. Kane was a graduate of Yale. But the clear distinction accorded to these exceptions only serve to prove the rule. The common people, deprived of the advantages of education, could easily have gained an impression of learning even though it might have come from a very superficial knowledge. A few Latin phrases and illustrations were quite enough to give him a reputation for learning among men who did not know a word of Latin. But the fact remains that he was better educated than most men of his times. What today would be "a common education" would in that time have made him a man with "some reputation for learning." The fact that he had attended college out of his own State must have been known by his contemporaries and no doubt gave him prestige. Thus his education in some measure explains his popularity.

Such a man was John Reynolds, not a great statesman, but rather a true political representative of the people. With talents sufficient to give him a slight superiority among his associates, with tact enough to make him popular among his constituents, he was long their trusted representative. With the confidence in his own power of a selfmade man, he made manifest how proud he was of his own people by the unbounded energy he expended

to advance their interests. He was not a great man for he failed to see himself in his proper relations to other men—he was an egotist. Nature had raised him a little above the horizon but not sufficiently far to give him the broader perspective. His opportunities were not great, but such as they were he made the best of them. He was the pioneer type of politician best fitted to be popular among a pioneer people, a man whose influence waned with the changing conditions.

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CHAPTER III.

John Reynolds' Political Career.

The political career of John Reynolds extended over that period in Illinois history when the State was passing through the various stages of its frontier development. The frontier, in American history, has gradually pushed westward and we have seen that while it had merely reached Illinois in 1818 by 1860 it had passed far beyond. The influence of John Reynolds, consequently, was expended during that period when there was in process of construction the foundation for the "Empire State of the West"; not only that, however, for his long career lasted while there arose much of the structure itself, as well as the foundation upon which it was builded. As Illinois gradually developed, she was drawn into closer union with the country as a whole and came in touch with national problems. In Illinois as elsewhere this was the period of internal improvements, banks, tariff and territorial expansion, all of which were gradually overshadowed by the more vital questions of slavery and states' rights. These were the problems which received John Reynolds' attention and he, like the other statesmen of his time, attempted to find their solution. He solved them from the standpoint of a western frontiersman whose ideals of government were democracy and states' rights. He was a man who held firmly to the old Jeffersonian principles and as the nationalistic ideals gained ascendency, gradually grew less and less influential; but his ardor only grew as his hopes seemed farther from realization. His career ended with the close of the great civil war, the final settlement of the slavery and states' rights questions, issues upon which he had expended the most earnest efforts of his life.

Illinois politics in a far greater degree than national politics depended upon personalities rather than issues—before the formation of the Whig and Democratic parties in the State. Up to the year 1828 there were no regular political parties in Illinois.[85] Personalties and not issues were the decisive influences in the determination of the results of an election to a political office. Governor Ford says of the early history of Illinois, "As for principles and measures, with the exception of the convention question, there were none to contend for. Every election turned upon the fitness and unfitness, the good and bad qualities of the candidates."[86] By 1828 in the presidential election the two opposing parties appeared, but in the intervening state elections there were no such sharp party lines. It was not until 1838 that the Whigs and Democrats as such, squarely joined issues in both state and national elections. Up to that time the Whigs and discontented Democrats worked together against the regular Democratic party.

During this era of personal politics, John Reynolds was not a strict party man because there were no hard and fast party lines in Illinois. When he began his career as an office holder in 1818, there were in general two groups of men pitted against each other.[87] Edwards and Bond were leaders. They had undoubtedly made a compromise to work together in 1818 to secure the governorship for Bond and the senatorship for Edwards. This coalition was successful, but temporary. By the following year Edwards was supporting Cook for senator, while Bond worked for McLean.[88] John Reynolds was allied with Edwards and Cook in that canvass, but like other men of the State, he did not remain consistently with one group of men. By the year 1823 he changed his allegiance to the Bond party. Already in 1822 when Reynolds was

[85] Reynolds, My Own Times, 282.
[86] Ford, Hist. of Illinois, 55.
[87] Washburne, Edwards' Papers, 192.
[88] Ibid., 163.

a candidate for the senatorship, Edwards was probably none too well suited with the plan, but Reynolds considered him among his friends.[89] There are a number of factors which may have influenced John Reynolds to change his political allegiance. He was a supporter of Jackson in 1824, while Edwards was probably an Adam's man. At least Cook, his son-in-law, and closest associate, gave the vote of the State for Adams in that election. But more than that Reynolds was a pro-slavery man. His sympathies had been with slavery from early times, and he never changed his convictions. As early as 1805, when a petition was sent from Illinois to Congress asking for the separation of Illinois from Indiana territory and the admission of slavery into Illinois, his name was among the signers.[90] Edwards was not an enthusiastic worker in this contest, and probably sympathized at least with the anti-slavery.***

In the year 1824 Illinois was divided into two hostile factions over the slavery question. A heated controversy was waged with able men on both sides. Bond, McLean,

[89] Washburne, Edwards' Papers, 199.

[90] Dunn, "Slavery Petition and Papers," in Ind. Hist. Soc. pub. II, 485.

***At this time Governor Edward's position does not seem very clearly defined. During the contest he was United States Senator in Washington and probably did not take an active interest in the campaign, which fact accounts for the differing records of his attitude. Governor Ford lists him with the convention party, (Ford, History of Illinois, 54). While Governor Reynolds speaks of him as an anti-slavery man (Reynolds, My Own Times, 242), it is very probable that had Edwards taken a definite stand he would have favored anti-slavery. Cook and Forquer who were consistently his followers, were anti-slavery men. In 1824 Mr. Lippincott, a clergyman and strong anti-slavery man, wrote to Governor Edwards in reviewing the political situation, "Mr. Lockwood and myself as well as others of your friends, think it our duty to prevent if possible a collision between different sections and will endeavor to keep you out of view in the nomination if we should discover such an opposition as would endanger your election—attempts are making in the country and perhaps more extensively to persuade the people that you are in favor of the introduction of slavery. Every effort will be made by the convention party, or rather the leaders of it, to defeat the election of one they so much fear." (Washburne, Edwards' Papers, 218.) Governor Edwards was considered as a man of strong influence and either party would have been glad to have claimed him, but probably for personal reasons he withheld his support from both sides.

Kane and Reynolds all joined forces because they all favored slavery and believed it would be a material benefit to the State. Arrayed against them were strong anti-slavery leaders, among whom were Coles, Cook, Hooper Warren, Lippincott, Peck and Birkbeck, the men who were successful in the fight.[91]

It was by the influence of the convention party leaders that John Reynolds was able to secure a seat in the Illinois legislature in 1826. When elected as representative from St. Clair county in that year he was not altogether inexperienced as a State official. He was a judge of the Illinois Supreme Court from 1818 to 1825, and although he was not eminently successful in that capacity, he gained through it some reputation in the State. During the first four years of his legislative career, John Reynolds became a very active member of the Illinois General Assembly. He was influential in proposing and securing the passage of some of the most important measures of this period. It was he who proposed the building of a State penitentiary at Alton. The old whipping post and pillory were to be abolished as punishments and imprisonments were to be substituted. His proposal was adopted and as Governor he became instrumental in the execution of his plan. It was during this period that the judiciary was reorganized and the State code of laws was revised. John Reynolds was one of the members of the committee which engaged in this revision, and presented a very thorough and successful piece of work, as its long use attested. He took a very active part in all of the questions which came up before the Legislature for discussion. Perhaps no other name appears as often in the journal of the General Assembly of these four years as his. By his ability and activity he established a reputation sufficiently strong to warrant his becoming a candidate for Governor in 1830.

[91] Ford. Hist of Illinois, 54.

So far, the measures which he advocated were those of his own choice. There were no party platforms or conventions. He was interested in all forms of development of the State. Education received special attention from him as did all kinds of public works. The era of many factions still existed in 1830, when John Reynolds was a candidate for Governor of the State. There were three parties, the radical Jackson, the conservative Jackson, and the anti-Jackson party.[92] When John Reynolds entered the gubernatorial contest in 1830, he was a member of the second group.[93] It was natural for him to join with the more moderate forces and it proved to be the successful policy. In his campaign he tried and proved his power over the people and was elected to the first office of the State.

So far as John Reynolds' policy as Governor is concerned, he probably maintained the same interests which he had displayed as a member of the Legislature. His messages show the same tact in the selection of issues interesting to his constituents, varying from an extensive plan for internal improvements to the conflicting suggestion that taxes should be lowered.[94] The best known event which happened during the four years in which he served as Governor and which overshadows less spectacular occurrences, was the Black Hawk war.[95] No attempt will be made to give the account of the military side of that war. It will be used merely as an event of some moment in John Reynolds' political career.

Although John Reynolds, as chief executive of the State, felt responsible for the safety of the citizens, nevertheless he began the Black Hawk war only after due consideration.[96] A number of petitions were sent to him and a delegation visited him, informing him of the danger

[92] Washburne, Edwards' Papers, 430.
[93] Reynolds, My Own Times, 295.
[94] Journal of Ill. Gen. Assembly, 1830, p. 64; 1832, p. 16.
[95] Reynolds, My Own Times, 315 et seq.
[96] Stevens, Black Hawk War, 81 et seq.

threatening the people of the Rock River valley. Whether this danger was the result of the settlers' own action, or the Indians were the sole offenders were probably not the questions he considered. It was rather how his administration as Governor would be affected by a failure of duty as public opinion saw it; or how he might add the glory of a soldier's success to his increasing political popularity. When once he had decided to make war he pushed forward the campaign with the same determination and energy with which he managed a political campaign. The letter which he wrote to General Clark explaining his course is illustrative of his attitude, in its many sidedness and diplomacy. For one who may read it desiring speedy action, it bears a promise of immediate attack; if a compromise is hoped for, he has a plan whereby war is useless; but through it all there runs that appeal to patriotism which turns the whole into an heroic defense, should war be necessary. He says:

> "In order to protect the citizens of the State, who reside near Rock Island from Indian invasion and depredation, I have considered it necessary to call out a force of the militia of this State of about seven hundred strong to remove a band of the Sock Indians, who reside now about Rock Island. * * * * *
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> "As you act as the General Agent of the United States in relation to those Indians, I considered it my duty to inform you of the above call on the militia, and that, in about fifteen days, a sufficient force will appear before those Indians to remove them dead or alive over to the west side of the Mississippi. But to save all this disagreeable business, perhaps a request from you to them for them to remove to the west side of the river would effect the object of procuring peace to the citizens of the State.
>
> "There is no disposition on the part of the people of this State to injure those unfortunate deluded

savages, if they will let us alone, but a Government, that does not protect its Citizens deserves not the name of a Government.'"[97]

This letter is very characteristic in its tendency to over emphasize John Reynolds' part in the contest. He wishes to be considered as the hero who performs the duty of war with reluctance, which he would gladly see settled peacefully; yet if war be what is needed, he plainly accepts the responsibility of his office and will act at once.

In the administration of the two different campaigns of the war, John Reynolds played the part of a diplomat and a politician, rather than that of a soldier, and yet his part was necessary. His chief aim, probably was to make matters run smoothly and succeed so grandly that all would add to his reputation as a Governor of a great State. Did he appeal for too many soldiers, in terms so enthusiastic that far more came than were needed? A reason may be found for it in his own words, "If I made the call on the volunteers and none turned out, I was a disgraced Governor.[98] Stevens' account of the Black Hawk war ably describes the part John Reynolds took in the war, a part for which he was very well fitted.[99] "The age," says Stevens, "was one of independence * * * and Governor Reynolds, diplomat that he was, in handling western character, was put to the limit of his ability and endurance in smoothing over the difficulties which were needlessly created by this miserable spirit of independence." He gave this love of independence a chance to display itself in permitting the companies to select their own officers, which was in accord with his own democratic ideas; in the same manner he mingled with the soldiers on friendly terms, endeavoring to keep all in good spirits and making himself popular.

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[97] Greene and Alvord, Gov. Letter Books, I. H. C. IV., 165.
[98] Reynolds, My Own Times, 329.
[99] Stevens, Black Hawk War, 294.

Whether the Black Hawk war at this time is considered as a credit or a discredit to those who were responsible for it, at any rate John Reynolds was willing to take all the credit for it. In a moment when his egotism, uncontrolled, led him to forget all criticism of the war, he wrote of it, "And I may say, in an humble manner, as Æneas said, in narrating the sacking of Troy, to queen Dido, 'a great part of which I was.' "[100] Although he was criticized during the war he readily forgot all of that in his remembrance of the commendations. After the close of the war the Senate and House of the Illinois General Assembly passed resolutions of commendation on his course in the conflict.[101] This was a fact which he appreciated most thoroughly, and often repeated them with pride, in his political addresses of later years. With his ability to make the most of the situation, the Black Hawk war became a fortunate event in his career. This, with his former reputation as a soldier in the war of 1812, gave him a remarkable hold upon the people of a frontier state.

At the close of his career as governor, John Reynolds left State politics for a time and entered a career as representative in Congress.[102] Up to that time, he had not been a strict party man. As far as national elections were concerned he had always voted the democratic ticket. He says,[103] "I voted for Jackson first, last and every time he was before the people as a candidate," but his policies were not always in strict accord with those of Jackson. When he was making his canvass before his election as congressman in 1834, he advocated a protective tariff. He addressed his constituents thus: "When it becomes necessary, tariff laws should be enacted, having for their object the protection of manufacturers, as well as to create a revenue."[104] This was

[100] Reynolds, My Own Times, 320.
[101] Journal of General Assembly, 183.
[102] Journal of House of Representatives, December, 1834.
[103] Reynolds, My Own Times, 253.
[104] Alton Spectator, February 25, 1834.

clearly protective tariff but it was an opinion formed on very provincial reasoning for he continues: "A part of the tariff policy includes the duty imposed by Congress on foreign salt. In this our State is deeply interested. Should the duty be reduced, the manufacture of salt in Illinois would be abandoned. And on the other hand, should the duty be increased, the price in proportion would be enhanced, both of these extremes would injure the people, and should be avoided." When John Reynolds became a member of Congress, coming in touch with Calhoun and Jackson, his opinion was radically changed.[105] When the tariff was under discussion in 1841, he expressed a desire to "add a small drop more to the bucket of free trade." He had come to feel that the protective system was not only "a direct violation of the principles of equity and of equal right," but it was also "in direct violation" of the interests of southern Illinois which was distinctly a farming and grazing community. He was strongly opposed to the West paying what he termed a tribute to enrich the manufacturers of New England. Thus he had readily fallen into line with the democratic free-trade sentiment and found it beneficial to his own section.

As far as the question of banks was concerned, John Reynolds had no change to make in his policy. He had always opposed state banks. As early as 1821 when the bill authorizing the old state bank was brought before the judge and governor who formed the council of revision, he cast his vote in opposition to the bank.[106] When in Congress he voted consistently with the democrats against the banks.

If there was one question which seemed of more vital interest to the westerner than any other, it was that of internal improvements. It was the one problem which confronted them daily in their actual experience. The

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[105] Cong. Globe, 27 Cong. Second Session, p. 34.
[106] Reynolds, My Own Times, 224.

want of transportation was the greatest need of Illinois during this whole period. The pioneers of Kansas had to cope with the drought, those of the Dakotas with the cold winters. The Illinois farmer had no climatic difficulties to meet; his problem was rather how to get his crops marketed after he had raised them. As a westerner and a representative who had the best interests of his constituents at heart, John Reynolds realized the needs of the State. The recommendations he made to the legislature in his messages as Governor are largely composed of a discussion of internal improvements. He recommended the building of roads and bridges, the improvement of rivers, the construction of the Illinois-Michigan canal and the Chicago harbor.[107] At that time he believed that "the authority of Congress to make appropriations for works of internal improvement has been generally recognized as a salutary principle of government, derived from a sound construction of the constitution.[108] Internal improvement at government expense finally became a strong plank in the Whig platform and lost favor with the democrats. On account of this, probably, such men as Governor Duncan and Casey came to support Whig measures. John Reynolds, however, remained a staunch democrat and vented his enthusiasm while in Congress on the Cumberland Road, which drew support from both parties.[109]

Even on the Cumberland Road issue, his speeches show a changed attitude toward the construction of public works at national expense. He believed that Congress had power to establish military or post-roads wherever or however it saw fit; but he believed that even in regard to the location of the Cumberland Road the individual state had the right to decide. The speech which he made as early as 1836 indicates how deeply imbeded in his

[107] Journal of Illinois General Assembly, 1832, p. 21.
[108] Journal of 8th Gen. Assembly of Illinois, 21.
[109] Gales & Seaton's Register of Debates; Cong. Globe, V., 8p., 175; Ibid., V. 8p., 181.

mind was the old states' rights theory. He found that even in the location of this road it served his purpose and he brought it forward. He said: "The State has assumed the principles and doctrines of states' rights, which I consider are constitutional and correct, and such as can be maintained and demonstrated on a proper exposition of the constitution of our government."[110] Since the constitution gave, in his opinion, "no power to Congress to force on a state such improvements as are contemplated by this national road," he believed that Congress should make the road only as the state decided. John Reynolds favored the Alton route for this road and found in this principle a means whereby he hoped to secure what he believed was best. He saw in the growing power of the national government something to be feared and was ready to join with his party against it. Thus upon these three important issues, John Reynolds fell directly into line with his party even when it meant change in his principles. He prided himself in the fact that he was a member of the democratic party which was founded upon the ideals of Jefferson. As a loyal party man he supported the Independent Treasury Bill and the Van Buren Administration in spite of their unpopularity.[111]

John Reynolds had another of the earmarks of a typical democrat—he was an expansionist. As early as 1833 he showed his interest in the "Oregon question," as one of the speakers in the "Oregon meeting" which was held in Alton in that year.[112] His ideas in regard to Mexico were the most radical. He favored the Mexican War and to express his commendations of the course the United States followed, he offered a resolution in the Illinois Assembly to that effect.[113] In 1846 he proposed "that the United States have possession of Oregon to

[110] Gales & Seaton's Reg. of Debates in Cong., 1837, 1131.
[111] Illinois State Register, July 3, 1840.
[112] Alton Tel. and Dem. Rev., June 24, 1843.
[113] Journal of Ill. Gen. Assem., 38.

Latitude of forty-nine degrees north of California and of Mexico on both sides of the Rio Grande." By the year 1858, John Reynolds proposed even going farther to add territory to our nation. Then he wrote: "We must have Cuba, and we are forced to have Mexico." This was the period when Mexico was involved in foreign complications and he believed that it was the duty of the United States to uphold the Monroe Doctrine, and "as the trustees of liberty" to annex Mexico.[114] He argued that if the United States failed "to protect and sustain" Mexico, she would fall a prey either to France or England. Not much foresight seems to have been given in these policies as to what might be the results of their execution, and yet he was probably fully convinced that they were the very best policies.

Reynolds had other special interests which were very characteristic, if they were more local in character. Gillespie says, "The Governor was never without a hobby." At times it was securing bounty lands for soldiers, or again the election by vive voce. In the latter principle his democratic ideals came out strongly. The election of officers of an assembly by vive voce was a favorite theme and he proposed it both in the Illinois Legislature and in Congress.[115] He believed it was due to the people that were represented "to spread on the journals" the votes of their representatives in all elections. While the people in voting should have the right to exercise that power without any responsibility, "except to their own consciences and to the Supreme Being," according to his view, nevertheless "the situation of the representative is quite different from his elector." If a representative failed to voice the sentiments of his constituents, he "violated not only the form but the substance of our representative system of government." John Reynolds was such a firm believer in democracy

[114] John Reynolds, An Address, 1858.
[115] Cong. Globe, 26th Cong., Vol. VIII., 71.

that he even carried the principle further in some of his "hobbies.[116] He even advocated "that the cadets graduated at said institution," meaning West Point, "shall have no preference over other citizens in the appointments of the United States army."

Such were the measures in which John Reynolds was most interested while a member of Congress. He served his district as congressman for seven years from 1834 to 1837,[117] and again from 1839 to 1843.[118] By the close of his congressional career his influence over the voters of the State seemed to be waning. In 1843 he was defeated in the election by Robert Smith, a typical "machine politician.[119] He had been absent from the State during a large part of his service in Congress, and was growing out of touch with the people, who were gradually changing in character. He was elected as a member of the Illinois Legislature in 1846 and again in 1852, but his political power seemed broken. During the years 1852 to 1854 he was honored by being selected speaker of the House. This ends his long career as an office holder. As late as 1858 he was a candidate, but it was for State Superintendent of Schools and he was unsuccessful.[120]

The last fifteen years of Reynolds' life, although his "sun had long since passed its noon," were years of activity. His convictions on the slavery question were far too strong and of too long a standing to permit him to remain silent in the great controversy. Already in the year 1854, when he was speaker of the House, Snyder's resolution commending Douglas' support of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was voted upon and John Reynolds cast his vote in favor of the resolution.[121] Following events made a difference in his attitude as it did in that of many

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116 Cong. Globe, 26th Cong., Vol. VIII, 181.
117 Reynolds, My Own Times, 447.
118 Journal of House of Rep.
119 Alton Tel. and Dem. Rev., September 16, 1843.
120 Star of Egypt, October 15, 1858.
121 Jour. of Ill. Gen. Assembly, 1854, 167.

others and he became a radical opponent of Douglas and his policy.[122]

John Reynolds, as has been shown, had long been a states' right man. He seldom made a speech in which he failed to emphasize the great difference between the Federalist and Republican parties. "The Federalist party," he insisted, "decided that the government possessed the power to do anything that might be considered to promote the general welfare of the people. The other party assumed no such power, and decided that the general government was limited in its action to a few simple national objects, and the balance of power retained to the states or the people.[123] He believed that the Republican principles had triumphed in the election of Jefferson, failing to see the strong centralizing influence of Judge Marshall's decisions or the Republicans' own tendency towards "loose construction" when once they were in control. Although he was jealous of the power of the federal government, nevertheless he had a strong love of the Union. In 1832 he did not sympathize with South Carolina, but on the contrary emphasized in his annual message, "All this national happiness is effected by the legitimate union of the states. * * *No dangerous doctrine of nullification, tending to dismember this happy confederacy, ought and I hope in God, will be sustained at all hazards."[124] Even in 1855, when the slavery question was fast forging ahead of all other issues he feared it as a danger to the Union. The opposition of the execution of the laws of the United States were equally injudicious and treasonable, in his opinion, whether it appeared in the north or in the south.[125] "This subject," he said, referring to slavery, "has always engendered bitter feelings among the people and has a tendency to array one section of the Union against the other. * * *

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[122] Reynolds, The Old Line Democracy Forever, 1858; Sparks, Lincoln-Douglas Debates, I. H. C. III., 235.
[123] State Register, July 3, 1840.
[124] Journal of Gen. Assembly, 1832, p. 24.
[125] Reynolds, My Own Times, 425.

The public agitation of the subject of slavery and particularly in the halls of Congress, should be avoided as much as possible.[126] This was the policy to which John Reynolds clung until it was useless. When he realized that the time had come for decision and no amount of remonstrances could silence the agitation he joined zealously in the conflict.

By the year 1858 John Reynolds had become fully alive to the situation. He probably expended the most earnest efforts of his life during the next two years. When his role as peacemaker failed, with his natural stubborn tenacity it only spurred him on to increased effort. When the break in the Democratic party came John Reynolds remained with the branch which continued to support Buchanan's administration. They were the branch who considered themselves as conservative and their policy as the "safe and sane" one. Douglas received a full share of his hatred, as upon him was laid the blame for the division in the Democratic ranks. So vigorous were the attacks which he made upon the Douglas faction that he became a real aid to Lincoln in his campaign, although their policies were contradictory. It was with reluctance that Reynolds saw the hope of a united Democratic party fade into an impossibility as he presented the "Political Olive Branch" as his final plea. It was the last hope he had for saving the Union, a united Democratic party at the ballot box. He had long clung to the hope that the Republicans could not succeed, and although he deeply felt what he thought were the just complaints of the pro-slavery party he pacifically pleads, "We, my friends, who love the Union, ought not to resort in the first instance, to secession and war for relief."[127] Not in the first instance did John Reynolds resort to disunion, but when the crisis came his sympathy was with the south.

John Reynolds belonged to that faction who considered negroes an inferior race who enjoyed more prosperity

[126] Reynolds, My Own Times, 230.
[127] Reynolds, Anti-Insurrection Speech, December 17, 1859.

in the hands of a superior class than they could as freemen.[128] To him they were mere property and he rebelled at the idea of the national government interfering with property rights. He saw in emancipation of the slaves a condition which would be unbearable in the south and insisted, "The people can not and they will not, in the south withstand such outrages on their constitutional rights and property as to liberate 4,000,000 of slaves in their midst."[129] Thus he strenuously opposed both the Republicans and the Douglas Democrats. When the State convention was held to choose candidates for the Charleston convention in 1860,[130] and Reynolds' party found themselves defeated by Douglas they selected opposing candidates. John Reynolds became one of the "Danite delegates,[131] who proposed contesting their seats. When the convention met, however, the Douglas delegation was accepted and John Reynolds, Cook and Dougherty failed to secure recognition. John Reynolds found himself no longer a great political leader, his period of popularity had passed away.

Baffled in the hope of actual political control, he turned his attention to writing. In "The Balm of Gilead, An Inquiry into the Rights of American Slavery" appears his most radical ideas on slavery. This book is almost lacking in his usual pacific tone. Emancipation of the slaves came to be synonymous with disunion. The moral aspect of the question is quite overwhelmed by an attempt "to injure and deprive fifteen states of the Union of their just and legal property, by a band of fanatics." The agitation of the north seemed to him "the wild shouts" of a population who had "no interest in the emancipation of the slaves." "Two publications," he writes, "I will mention whose authors deserve the gallows—'Uncle Tom's Cabin' and the 'Helper's Book.'"[132]

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[128] Reynolds, An Address, December, 1858.
[129] Reynolds, Political Olive Branch, May 26, 1860.
[130] Halstead, Nat'l. Polit. Con., 34.
[131] Illinois State Register, May 9, 1860.
[132] Reynolds, Balm of Gilead, 38.

To him slavery was the natural order of things in perfect accord with the right and the constitution. His attitude carried him with the south, against his own State when the division came. He became "an unhappy copperhead," one of the class who made Lincoln's hard task of saving the Union far more difficult than it would otherwise have been.

In 1865 ended the life work of one of the most varied careers in Illinois history. The fact that John Reynolds can not be accounted a great man makes his long career the more remarkable. He was a man of his own time, a leader of that first class of Illinois pioneer farmers who came from the south and never forgot their sympathy for it. He was a man with a genius of a certain order and being energetic, ambitious and tenacious of purpose, he gained his ideal of success. His keen perception and tact gave him the ability to analyze the needs and wishes of the people and make those needs the issues which he advocated. His natural friendliness of manner and powers of diplomacy won for him a popularity among the common people which it was difficult to undermine. He was not only a man of words, but of action as well, and was the real moving force in gaining many of the early improvements of the State. With the changing state his influence waned. He was no longer the true representative of the people for northern sentiment had come to predominate over southern. With the change came the transition from personal politics to party lines. As politics crystallized into definite parties he joined with the Democrats, as representing the old Jeffersonian theory of independence of the state and individual. Although his best energy had been expended long before the slavery contest, he threw a second strength into the conflict. He was on the losing side but he believed he had remained true to his old ideals of democracy and only gave up hope for the Union when those two principles seemed incompatible.

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FORT KASKASKIA.

Dr. J. F. Snyder.

Occasionally an error in a historical record is transmitted by successive writers, without investigation, until passively accepted by the public as true, its correction becomes very difficult. An instance of this—though of minor importance—is the error, repeatedly stated as a historic fact by reputable authors who should have known better, and now generally believed by the laity, that the remains of the old stockade on the hill opposite Kaskaskia, on the south, are those of the Fort Gage, captured, with its garrison and commander, Rocheblave, by Col. George Rogers Clark on the night of July 4, 1778. And tending to further perpetuate that mistake a railroad, constructed through that locality within the last few years, has a station at the foot of the bluff there named Fort Gage, and the government has established a post office at that point also named Fort Gage.

To recount here how Col. Clark invaded Kaskaskia and seized its British garrison, will be, to those familiar with Illinois history, but "as a twice-told tale"—a "rethreshing of old straw"—but its repetition is necessary to refute the error mentioned; and will, no doubt, be of interest to many whose attention has never been specially called to this important event in the history of our State.

As is well known, in the spring of 1778, the fourth year of the Revolutionary war, Col. George Rogers Clark was sent by Patrick Henry, Governor of Virginia, to attack the British position on the western frontier. Leaving Kentucky at the Falls of the Ohio, on the 26th of June, in flatboats with 117 men, he landed in Illinois, near the mouth of Massac creek and commenced his march, through trackless woods and prairies, to Kaskaskia, 120

miles distant. On the way he captured some hunters who had left Kaskaskia eight days before, by whom he was well informed of the status of affairs there, the exact location of the British, and of their strength. In the account of his campaign Col. Clark says: "On the evening of the 4th of July, we got within three miles of the town Kaskaskia, having a river of the same name to cross to the town. After making ourselves ready for anything that might happen, we marched to a farm that was on the same side of the river (we were on) about a mile above the town, took the family prisoners, and found plenty of boats to cross in; and in two hours transported ourselves to the other shore with the greatest silence. * * * * I immediately divided my little army into two divisions, ordering one to surround the town, with the other I broke into the fort, secured the Governor, Mr. Rochblave, in 15 minutes had every street secured, sent runners through the town ordering the people on pain of death to keep close to their houses, which they observed, and before daylight had the whole town disarmed."[1]

1778-9. Cincinnati; Robt. Clark & Co., 1869, pp. 30-31.

In neither of the accounts of his Illinois campaign does Col. Clark say that he, or any part of his "little army" recrossed the Kaskaskia river to the east side, after having entered the town on the night of July 4th, until he marched to Vincennes in February, 1779. To suppose that a man of Col. Clark's military genius, after getting his men over to the west bank, in the night, and surrounding the town, would have returned with part of his small force to the east side, to scramble up a high steep bluff and attack a fort on its summit, is simply absurd. Had he committed such a foolish blunder he would have found on that high ridge, instead of a fortified post, only the grass-grown embankments—still seen there today—the last remains of Fort Kaskaskia, a French stockade, destroyed by the French with fire, nearly twelve years

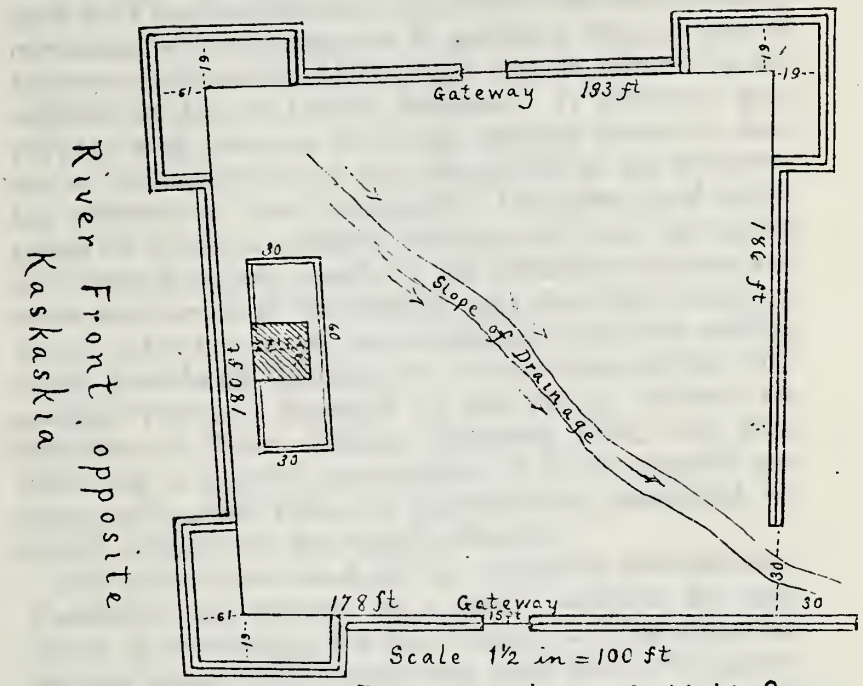
[1] Col. George Rogers Clark's Sketch of his campaign in Illinois in

before he came into Illinois. There is no reason to believe that Col. Clark knew a fort of any kind had ever stood on that hill.

It has been known from the first settlement of Illinois by Americans that a defensive military work had been erected, many years ago, on that hill east of Kaskaskia; but, for want of tangible records, its history was so obscure and fragmentary as to be of little more value than mere tradition. People have gazed with curious wonder on its earthen remains there, which time and the elements have failed to efface. So well preserved is that interesting ruin that its long lines of intrenchments, and the position and dimensions of its blockhouse bastions, are still defined with a considerable degree of distinctness. The debris of its ammunition magazine of stone is scattered about the old enclosure, and a depression in the soil marks the wine cellar formerly located under the officers' quarters. All that is still visible of that once important post was carefully surveyed and measured, in 1895, by Judge H. W. Beckwith, the first President of the Illinois State Historical Society, aided by his son, in an attempt to restore, as far as possible, its form and proportions, with the result shown in Plate I.[2] Until recently the zealous search among all accesible archives and libraries failed to discover any written account or record of the original design and specifications of this fort, or of its builders. Yet, it was well known to have been constructed by the French, as a means of military protection for the French possessions in that part of the Illinois. Then, why Judge Beckwith designated the plat he drew from his field notes, the "Earthwork lines of Old Fort Gage," is past comprehension, when he well knew those "earthwork lines" had been thrown up on that hill by the French, long before Illinois had been ceded by them to England, and many years before Gen.

[2] Copied by permission from Vol. I of Illinois Historical Collections, p. 199.

PLATE 1.



River Front opposite Kaskaskia

Earth work lines of old ft Gage
On the high bluff East & across the river
from Kaskaskia Ill
As surveyed by H.W. Beckwith & Son
April – – 1895

Gage had been ordered to duty in America by his government; and also well knew the exact location and description of the real Fort Gage *in* Kaskaskia.

Fort Chartres was built in 1721-22, on the east bank of the Mississippi, sixteen miles above Kaskaskia, to defend the French settlements of Illinois from apprehended incursions of the Spaniards in northern Mexico, and of Indians on the upper Mississippi and its tributaries instigated by hostile British influence. It answered that purpose well, but in a few years another source of danger to those settlements was discovered in the threatening attitude of the Chickasaws, Choctaws, and other powerful tribes of southern Indians, who were also aided and abetted in their enmity to the French by traders and other emissaries of the British, who that early had surmounted the barrier of the Alleghenies and were making rapid inroads all through the southern part of the Mississippi Valley.[3] Attempts by the French military authorities at Baton Rouge, Arkansas Post, and Fort Chartres, to repress aggressions of those insolent savages, and punish them for depredations committed, resulted in failure or lamentable disaster.

The rich alluvial lands of the American Bottom about Kaskaskia had become, in a great measure, the main source of food supply for New Orleans and its dependent military posts. Wheat and corn were there of luxuriant and almost spontaneous growth. Thousands of pounds of flour, ground by water mills along the Kaskaskia river and neighboring streams, together with quantities of corn, bacon, venison, buffalo meat, and other local products, were annually floated down the great river, in large homemade *bateaux,* to the lower Mississippi metropolis. Intervening enemies, who defied the power of the scattered and feeble French forces, menaced, not only the means of communication between those distant points,

[3] Early Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny Region by the Virginians. By Alvord and Bidgood. A. H. Clark & Co., 1912.

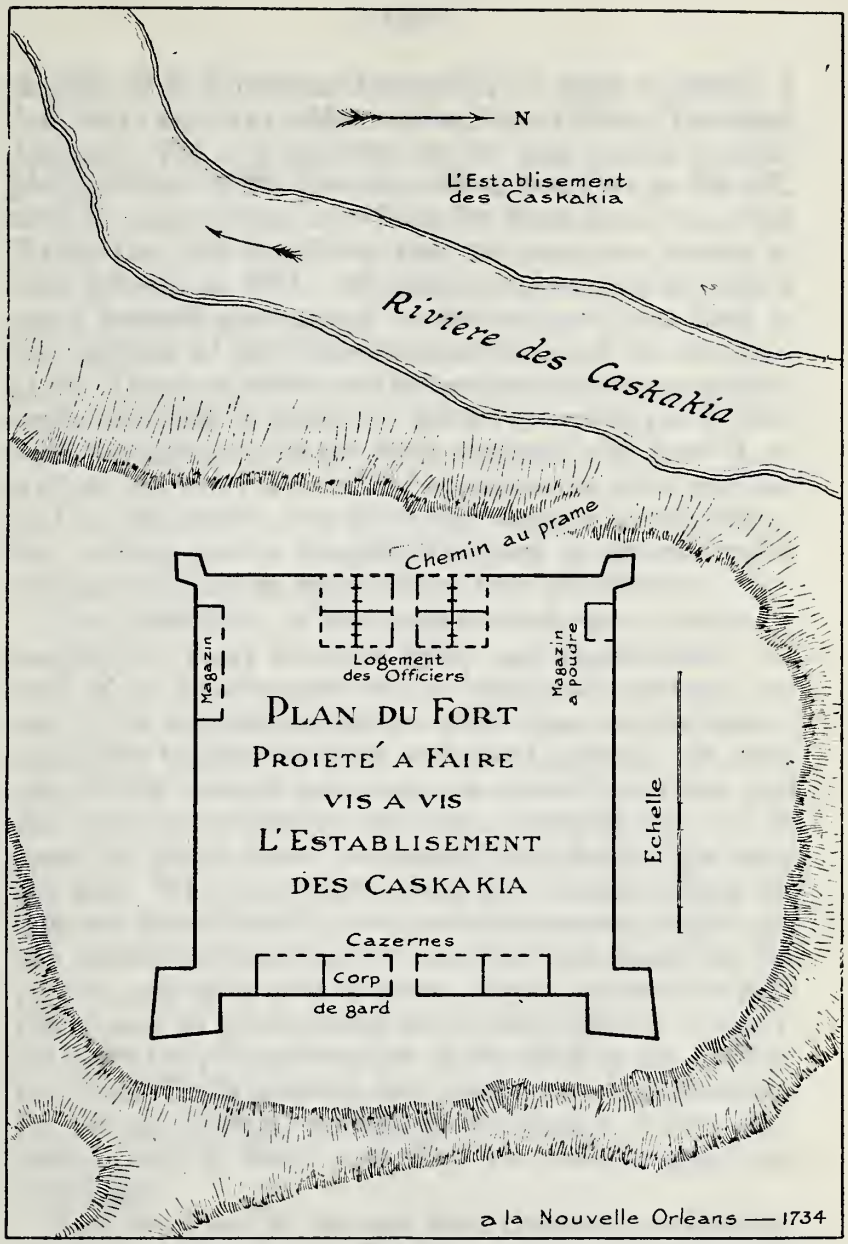
but threatened to march north and destroy the villages and other possessions of the French in the Illinois. Kaskaskia was at that time, next to New Orleans, the largest and most important center of civilization in the Mississippi Valley. Louis XV, then on the throne of France, was fully informed of the impending danger to his subjects in that far distant region. Convinced that Kaskaskia was in urgent need of military protection in addition to, and more immediate, than that afforded by Fort Chartres, he ordered the town to be at once fortified. In obedience to that mandate, St. Ange de Bellerive, who had the year before been appointed for the second time, Commandant of Fort Chartres, began, in the summer of 1734, the erection of a fort on the hill south of, and overlooking Kaskaskia, having received, from the military headquarters of the west at New Orleans, funds to defray expenses of construction, and the plan and specifications of the projected work.

But, of that fort, and its builders, less is actually known than we now know of the mounds thrown up by the vanished race of mound building Indians. Until recently absolutely no record of its history, name, or description, had been discovered. Positive knowledge of it was limited to the following facts: That it was completed in the spring of 1736 and garrisoned by a company of regular French soldiers; that in 1742 its commander was one Captain Charloville;[4] that it was rebuilt about 1759-60; that it was abandoned by the French troops in 1764; and destroyed by the citizens of Kaskaskia in October, 1766, twelve years before the Illinois was wrested from the possession of England by Col. Clark.

Among the many contributions of late years to the history of the French regime in America, there was published in 1903, at Paris, France, a very ably written book, by Marc De Villiers Du Terrage, entitled, "'Les Derniers

[4] His son, Capt. Francois Charloville, of Cahokia, with a company of 50 volunteers of that village, joined Col. Geo. Rogers Clark in his march upon Vincennes, in February, 1779.

PLATE 2.



FORT DE KASKAKIAS (1734).
(Archives du Ministére des Colonies).

Annees de la Louisiane Francaise," a copy of which, a few years ago, was added to the Illinois State Historical Library. There is on Page 217 of that volume a small photogravure of the ground plan of that fort on the hill, with its name given as "Fort De Kaskakias," or Fort Kaskaskia, and signifying that the plan was drawn at New Orleans in 1734. The engraving was made from a much reduced photograph of the original plan filed in the archives of the Colonial department of the Minister of the Marine at Paris, and is here reproduced, somewhat again enlarged, in Plate II. As it appears in the French book the signature of the army engineer who drew it, as well as the exact date of its execution in 1734, and the scale of dimensions, are not legible because so reduced by the camera, and a magnifying glass is necessary for reading some of its other descriptive inscriptions.

Fort Kaskaskia, as here represented, was a stockade, complete in every essential detail and appointment. At each of its four corners was a blockhouse bastion—the two of its eastern side larger than those on the west—connected by lines of high embanked pickets. On each side of the western gate were the officers' quarters, and the *cazernes,* or soldiers' barracks, including the *corp de garde,* or guard house, correspondingly flanked the eastern gate. The main store house was situated along the southern line of pickets, near the southwestern angle; and in a similar position near the northwestern angle was the powder magazine built of stone. From the western gate the *chemin au prame,* road to the boat landing or ferry, led down the precipitous face of the bluff to the Kaskaskia river. Unfortunately, this valuable work of Monsieur Du Terrage contains nothing of the history of Fort Kaskaskia, and is silent regarding its water supply and armament.

With exception of the new Fort Chartres, constructed of massive masonry in 1751-60, all pioneer forts of the French and Americans in the west, were built on the

same general plan. because of the most convenient material at hand, with lines of high pointed and contiguous pickets, and blockhouses at the corners, affording a means of defense generally effective against the Indian mode of warfare. Some were much more elaborate than others. The simplest had but one blockhouse surrounded with pickets; others were square stockades with blockhouses at diagonal corners, and the most pretentious had blockhouses at all four corners. Constructed of green timbers cut in adjoining forests, the extreme durability of those defenses probably did not exceed 30 years. The first Fort Chartres, an ordinary stockade, built in 1721-22, had become so dilapidated by decay in 1750 as to be almost untenable, and was replaced by the new stone fortress half a league higher up the river. Fort Kaskaskia had experienced the same fate by 1760, requiring its rotted pickets and blockhouses to be replaced by new material.

About that time new alarms stirred the isolated inhabitants of that region. British successes over the French arms in their war for supremacy in America near the eastern seaboard jeopardized the safety of French possessions in the west also. For their safety Major Makarty, Commandant at Fort Chartres, was urged, by the French Governor, to hasten the completion of his work there. to rebuild Fort Kaskaskia, and also erect a fort on the lower Ohio near the mouth of Massac creek. Writing to Gov. Vaudreuil, April 12, 1760, Makarty says: "The Fort which I ordered (re)built at the Kaskaskias is up to the parapet, and I have made all the arrangements considered necessary, according to my strength, to receive the enemy."[5] Apart from this statement by Major Makarty the only references extant to the condition of that fort on the hill are fragmentary and conflicting. The Illinois country was ceded by France to

[5] "In Paris Documents." as quoted by Judge Beckwith in Vol. I of Illinois Historical Collections, p. 460.

the British in 1763; but it was two years later before the latter assumed possession of it; Capt. Sterling, with a detachment of the 42d Regiment of Foot, arriving at Fort Chartres on the 9th of October, 1765, to receive, on the next day, its formal surrender from the veteran Commandant, St. Ange de Belle Rive.

Eight days later he wrote to General Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, at New York: "The Fort of Caskaskia having been abandoned by the French since the Treaty of Peace, it is almost in ruins, one face of it having fallen down, which prevented my sending a Detachment there, and indeed my party is so small and the Indians so numerous, so easily assembled, and so insolent, that I thought it (best) for His Majesty's service not to divide my little Force." Again writing from Fort Chartres, to General Gage, on the 15th of December, 1765, he said: "Mons. St. Ange withdrew Troops in this Country to a Village called St. Louis on the Spanish side, opposite to Caho, having Orders to that purpose from Monsr. Aubrey, he had no Soldiers in any of the Posts except this, a reduced Officer acted as Commandant at Caskaskias, and another at Caho, they have both left this side likewise. * * * * There will be a necessity of building a Fort at Caskaskias, the former one being ruinous, ill situated and no water."[6] When those letters were written Capt. Sterling evidently had not yet visited Kaskaskia.

In the summer of the next year Capt. Harry Gordon, of the British army, came to Illinois to study the best means for permanently holding this new domain acquired by England. In his journal of August 19th, 1766, he says: "The Kaskaskias Village is on the Plain. It consists of 80 Houses, well built, mostly of stone, with Gardens and large Lots to each, whose inhabitants live generally well, & some of them have large Stocks of

[6] Public Records office, America and West Indies. Vol. 122. Quoted in Prof. Clarence E. Carter's paper in Transactions of the Ill. State Historical Society for 1907, pp. 203-219.

Cattle & Hogs. There was a new Fort begun by the French, of Logs opposite the Village on the rising Ground, t'other side of the River, but entirely commanding it." Of Fort Chartres he writes: "It is now in Danger of being undermined by the Mississippi, whose Eastern Bord is already within 26 yards of the Point of the S. W. Bastion. * * * When we took Possession of this Fort the River was 100 yds. Distance, and before that, the French who foresaw its Approach, had expended much Labour and Money to try to prevent it. * * * * Upon these Principles I gave Instructions to Lieut. Pitman, Assist. Engineer at this Post, to proceed. The Ruin of the Fort was inevitable next Spring without doing something. But a Part at least may be saved at small Expense, to lodge the Garrison till other Measures are resolved on." Returning from Pain Court (St. Louis) to Kaskaskia, Sept. 6th, he states: "The next Day viewed the Country round this Village, in order to fix a Situation for the principal Post in Case of the Demolition of Fort Chartres by the Curr. of the Mississippi, which most probably will hapen in 3 years' Time, perhaps in less. Viewed that part to the Nor'w of the small River (the Kaskaskia), as also along the Bank of the great one upwards to search for a rising Ground, and a Shelter for Craft, which now lays at this Village, thro want of such at the Fort. We discovered nothing to Purpose. The Afternoon, we cross'd the small River, with much fatigue, and, a Foot, visited the Situation of the Fort Begun by the French as mentioned already. We found it a very good one, accessible only on the East Side; the West by which we went up, narrow, steep and easily defended. It commands the Town, the River below, overlooks the Plain towards the Mississippi, which does not seem 3 Miles across in a straight Line, and has a fair chance of being a healthy Spot, at least an airy one, as it is high Placed, on dry Ground, and near good

PLATE 3.

FORT KASKASKIA (1736-1759).
As Seen from the West Bank of the Kaskaskia River.

Water.'"[7] Plate III. The Fort on the hill is not mentioned by Capt. Gordon; but Captain Philip Pitman, who was with him there at the time, or a few days later, says of Fort Kaskaskia: "The fort, which was burnt down in October, 1766, stood on the summit of a high rock opposite the village and on the opposite side of the river. It was an oblong quadrangle, of which the extreme polygon measured 290 by 251 feet. It was built of very thick square timber, and dove-tailed at the angles. An officer and twenty soldiers are quartered in the village."[8] The "very thick square timber dove-tailed at the angles," obviously refer to the blockhouses at each corner, the connecting lines of defense being ordinary stockade.

About the time the first Fort Chartres was built, 1721-22, the Jesuits, assured of military protection, and eager to establish their order in all parts of the country, went up from New Orleans to Kaskaskia to found a college there. Securing a large unoccupied lot in the southeastern part of the village, they set resolutely to work and erected thereon their main college edifice, a huge building and small adjoining chapel, substantially constructed of stone; also other stone outbuildings, with spacious stables, cribs, etc., of wood. The village trustees allotted to them 240 arpents of the common field, which by diligent labor they converted into a highly productive and prosperous farm, well stocked with horses, cattle, hogs and sheep. There they flourished and held sway, insiduously exercising the sovereignty of feudal lords, for forty years. But, by their arrogant assumption of civil as well as ecclesiastical authority, the Jesuits had, by 1764, rendered themselves so odious everywhere that, in that year, by government edict, their order was suppressed in France, including their banishment from

[7] "Extract from Journal of Captain Harry Gordon," in "The Wilderness Trail." By Charles A. Hanna; 2 Vols. Geo. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1911.

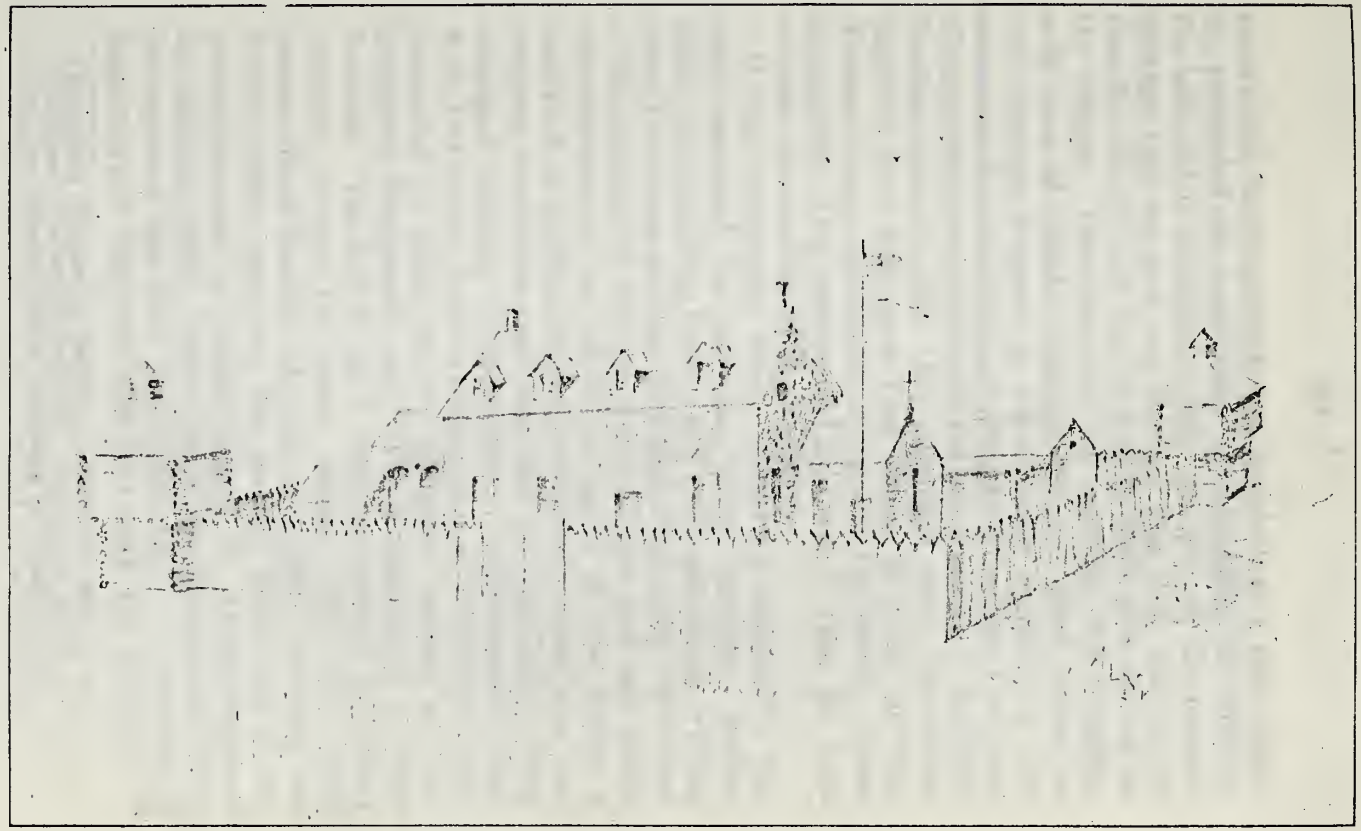
[8] The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi. By Captain Philip Pitman. London, 1770.

all French provinces in America and confiscation of their property. By 1766 the Kaskaskia disciples of Loyola had all returned to New Orleans, and from there back to France. Their stone buildings, their brewery, horses, cattle and other possessions, were sold, under decree of confiscation, by an agent of France, Jean Baptiste Beauvais, a very wealthy citizen, being the purchaser.

The inhabitants of Kaskaskia—who intensely hated the victorious English—were well aware of the impending collapse of Fort Chartres. They knew the English garrison there had orders to evacuate the doomed post in time, and remove to Kaskaskia. They also knew that in that event the despised redcoats would be ensconced in Fort Kaskaskia on the hill, that they themselves had so long maintained and recently reconstructed. To thwart that design, and escape the further humiliation of having to dwell immediately under the guns of their conquerors, they determined to destroy the fort. By preconcerted agreement they assembled on the hill one night late in October, 1766, well prepared for their purpose, and, with united effort, quickly filled up the well, blew up the powder magazine, set fire to the block houses, interior buildings, and long lines of pickets, expeditiously destroying every thing combustible about the place.

The skill of the English engineers, and labor of the soldiers, averted the climax at Fort Chartres until June, 1772; and was then precipitated by an extraordinary overflow of the Mississippi which swept away the west wall, and inundated the Fort to the depth of seven feet. Warned in time of the approaching flood, the troops abandoned the fort for a new position at Kaskaskia. The intrenchments on the hill that they had contemplated occupying were gone, but the "Residence" in the town, vacated by the Jesuits, was still vacant, or tenanted only by the officer and 30 (or 20) men previously stationed there. There the English garrison was domiciled, converting the stone houses into officers' quarters and barracks. The forebodings, even then, of the startling

PLATE 4.



FORT GAGE IN KASKASKIA.
(The Fortified Jesuit College.)

events that later culminated in the birth of a new republic, precluded the expediency of rebuilding the fort on the hill, and it remained a ruin, the scar on the natural surface that we now see there. The only alternative then for the British was to fortify their new station in the village. That they did by enclosing the premises with lines of pickets supplemented with block houses at two diagonal corners, in which they mounted a few swivels and 4-pound cannon brought from Fort Chartres. Then raising a flag staff with the royal ensign of England floating from its top, they dignified their improvised quarters with the name Fort Gage, in honor of Gen. Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. It is represented by Plate IV from the most reliable descriptions of it obtainable.

It was necessarily but a temporary makeshift; yet, fully answered, for the time, every purpose. Rocheblave, on succeeding Capt. Lord in its command, writing from Fort Gage to Gen. Guy Hamilton, said, "The roof of the mansion of the fort is of shingles and very leaky, notwithstanding my efforts to patch it, and unless a new roof be provided soon the building, which was constructed twenty-five years ago, and cost the Jesuits forty thousand piasters, will be ruined."[9] Subsequently Maj. A. S. DePeyster, English commander at Mackinac, deeply interested in their western defenses, writing to Gov. Frederick Haldimand, said, "The Kaskaskias is no ways fortified. The fort being a sorry pinchetted (picketed) enclosure around the Jesuit college, with two plank houses (block houses) at opposite angles, mounting two four-pounders each, on the ground floor, and a few swivels mounted in pidgeen houses."[10] Apprehensive of the possible hostile disposition of the Kaskaskians after he captured this fort, Col. Clark says, "I resolved to burn part of the town that was near the fort, etc.,"[11]

[9] Brymner's "Report of Canadian Archives," 1882, p. 12.
[10] Michigan "Pioneer Collections." Vol. IX., p. 388.
[11] Col. Geo. Rogers Clark's "Campaign in Illinois," p. 57.

which seems conclusive that the "fort" was in the midst of the town, and not on the hill across the river.

It was the fourth year of the war for American Independence, and the heroic struggle of Washington and his colonial rebels so seriously pressed the British that they were compelled to call to the front from all their frontier posts every ablebodied soldier they had. This demand had drained Fort Gage, leaving Rocheblave there with a garrison of less than 20 men, crippled and invalids, unfit for active service. Col. Clark knew that. He had also been informed of all the interior arrangements of the fort. It was in midsummer when all the doors and windows were open, and its fancied security because of remoteness from the theatre of actual war had relaxed every semblance of discipline. It was near midnight of July 4, 1778, when the Virginians surrounded Fort Gage. The account often told, and repeated in Roosevelt's "Winning of the West," of a dance going on there that night, and of the Indian squatted on the floor who first recognized Col. Clark as he entered, is, of course, sheer nonsense. That the ladies and young men of Kaskaskia would be celebrating the second anniversary of the Declaration of Independence in an English fort commanded by a renegade Frenchman who had deserted his country and joined their detested enemies, is too preposterous for a moment's consideration.

In his *Pioneer History,* page 94, Gov. Reynolds relates this account of the capture: "He (Clark) found the garrison unprepared for defence. The brave and sagacious Simon Kenton commanded a detachment to enter the fort; they found a light burning in it. An American, a native of Pennsylvania, was there in the fort and conducted Kenton and his small party into the fort by a small back gate. This was a perilous situation for Kenton's men, to be housed up in a British strong fortification if the gate had been shut on them. The noble Pennsylvanian was true to liberty and conducted them to the very bedchamber of the sleeping governor Rocheblave.

The first notice Rocheblave had that he was a prisoner was Kenton tapping him on the shoulder to awaken him." This was no doubt told to Gov. Reynolds by Kenton, with whom he was personally well acquainted. But Kenton, then a garrulous old man, was prone, especially in his convivial moods, to exaggerate and embellish the prowess and daring achievements of his younger days. Col. Clark's own narrative is reasonably the most consistent with the truth of history. He does not mention Kenton, but says: "I broke into the fort, secured the Governor, Mr. Rocheblave, in 15 minutes had every street secured,etc."

On the 5th of the following February, 1779, Col. Clark, with 170 men, left Kaskaskia to attack and capture Vincennes, placing Col. John Montgomery, with a few volunteers, in command of Fort Gage. The next year, 1780, Fort Jefferson was established at the Iron Banks on the Mississippi below the mouth of the Ohio. To that new post Col. Montgomery and his men, with all the arms, stores and munitions of Fort Gage were transferred. And from that date all further history of Fort Gage is lost. In 1839 the lot upon which it stood was bare and vacant, every vestige of its former occupancy having disappeared save an occasional building stone seen half buried in its loamy soil. It was the common playground of Kaskaskia children, who even then knew it as the "Old Fort." As late as 1879 the "corner stone of the property of the Jesuits confiscated by the French crown" was pointed out to those interested in early Illinois history who visited Kaskaskia.[12]

It matters little now that no monument was placed at that corner stone of Fort Gage to mark the last seat of British domain in Illinois, as that historic ground itself has long since been carried away by the remorseless currents of the mighty river.

[12] Kaskaskia and its Parish Records. By E. G. Mason, Fergus & Co., Chicago, 1881, p. 22.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES.*

A CONTINUATION OF THE STORY OF MORGAN'S RAID.

By Major H. C. Connelly.

As we approached Morgan some of his men started to run. They did not halt and were fired upon. Morgan claimed he had surrendered to a military captain, whom he said had agreed to parole himself and his followers. He insisted this contract should be carried out in good faith. Gen. Shackelford declined to recognize his demand, when Morgan asked to be placed in the field again untrammeled. Gen. Shackelford told him he would be taken to Cincinnati and turned over to Gen. Burnside, who would properly settle the differences of opinion between them. He had about 350 men with him when he was captured. Like the prisoners taken at Buffington Island, they were loaded down with bolts of cloth, velvets, silks and other goods they could carry with them. These articles were securely strapped on their saddles.

Going from the point of capture to Salineville, where the prisoners were placed on cars, Morgan rode in front of the column, with Gen. Shackelford on his right. Col. Wolford and Col. Capron next. We rode directly in the rear and, as we crossed a bridge near Salineville, Morgan turned in his saddle and jocularly said to the staff officer by whose side he was riding: "Adjutant, see that bridge is burned, sir!"

On this raid as well as in the east Tennessee campaign under Gen. Burnside, I saw much of Col. Wolford and his First Kentucky cavalry. In admiration of him I yield to no man. He had one trait which few soldiers possess.

* The first chapters of Major Connelly's reminiscences were published in the Journal of January, 1913.

As a rule, when a minnie ball in battle whizzed by a soldier, his head or body would vibrate or sway to the opposite side. I have seen the old hero in a shower of bullets. He sat his horse as solid as a rock. The zip of the minnie ball did not seem to disturb him. A braver man never drew saber.

An incident related by the writer of Wolford's Cavalry, in referring to the Morgan raid, says:

"For 30 days and nights the pursuit continued, and finally the Confederate chieftain was brought to bay and forced to surrender. It is related that Shackelford forgot his station and himself, and became personally abusive of his distinguished prisoner, when Wolford, the inferior in command, rebuked him for speaking harshly to one whose hands were figuratively bound. It was in appreciation of this knightly conduct of his grim old adversary that prompted Morgan to bestow on Wolford as a present his pair of fine solid silver spurs." Gen. Morgan did present Col. Wolford his spurs.

After the raid, in the East Tennessee campaign, I was on official duty at Gen. Shackelford's headquarters. I daily sat at his table and enjoyed the delightful social intercourse accorded to every member of his military family. I saw him under many trying circumstances. He never lost his temper. He was always courteous. He was also a devout man. I shall forever remember him as a kind-hearted, Christian gentleman.

If there was any ill feeling between victor and vanquished it was only temporary. At the time of his capture Morgan was riding a fine blooded chestnut sorrel mare. This he presented to General Shackelford before they separated. Gen. Morgan was not the man to favor one who had insulted him. The incident as related is clearly a mistake. In justice to Shackelford, whom I have always admired and respected as a soldier as well as a cultivated gentleman, I write this.

After the war when Oklahoma was made a territory, Gen. Shackelford was made a territorial judge, which position he filled for some years.

The main body of Morgan's command pursued a line of march as direct as it was possible for him to take. He threw flanking parties out on both sides. These followed a zig-zag course. This produced much confusion to the Union soldiers who were pursuing, for different citizens would report him at a half dozen points at the same time.

It is related that Morgan had his own soldiers dressed as citizens, who met the Union command and gave them incorrect information to throw his pursuers off the track and enable him to make better and more rapid progress. As Morgan advanced, he picked up all the best horses on his line of march. The Union troops only secured the poor ones that remained.

We were especially authorized to press horses on this raid and receipt for them. Many incidents, dramatic and amusing, occurred when citizens found they were compelled to surrender their horses. For months after the war was over the United States quartermaster at Columbus sent us formal vouchers to execute, accompanying the same with pencil memoranda to which our names were signed. We have no doubt every horse we compelled the owner to give up on that raid was well paid for afterward.

As we were moving from the point of capture to Salineville my attention was attracted to a loud noise in the rear of the column. I fell back, and found a Union soldier and one of Morgan's men having a hot controversy. They poured hot words into each other. I requested the Union soldier to stop, telling him his antagonist was a prisoner of war, and he must not indulge in bitter talk; that it was "barbarous to insult a fallen foe." The controversy at once ceased, and Morgan's men struck up "Dixie Land," singing it charmingly.

When we started after Morgan, I took with me my coal black Morgan and a roan mare, raised in the Kentucky mountains. I rode the horse in the day time and the mare at night. She was sure footed and never made

a misstep, and had an eye like an eagle. The day before we captured Morgan she became completely exhausted and I had to abandon her. I shipped the horse back to Glasgow and turned him into pasture. There was little left of him but skin and bones. After we started for east Tennessee under Burnside, Morgan made another raid into Kentucky. He took with him my black horse. My affection for this horse almost equalled the affection a father has for his child.

In the final chase after Morgan in person, we pursued him six days and nights. Horses as well as men were exhausted. As we moved along, we slept on our horses, comrades side by side, taking the bridle reins of each to keep in the column and avoid being dropped out. A brief halt would often find nearly every man asleep. The officers would be compelled to pass along the line and wake up the soldiers in order to be able to resume the march.

GENERAL MORGAN'S ESCAPE.

Gen. Morgan and his officers were confined in the Ohio state prison at Columbus. Morgan escaped afterwards with Captain Hines and one or two others of his officers. Many versions explaining how Morgan escaped have been given out. I think the most sensational one I have seen is here given, as first published in the Columbus Dispatch about March 7, 1895. The Dispatch says:

The Columbus Dispatch sent a reporter to John Radebaugh, on Swan street, to get information about the men who led the horses attached to the funeral car which carried Lincoln's remains through the streets of Columbus enroute from Washington to Springfield, Ill. Radebaugh at that time was chief clerk to the United States assistant quartermaster, the late Colonel Raymond Burr, located in this city. Speaking of various matters about the war, Mr. Radebaugh said he could give the true account of the escape of General John Morgan and his comrades from the Ohio penitentiary. Being urged to do so, Mr. Radebaugh said:

"Stanton ordered their release. Stanton said Morgan was being held in a felon's prison in violation of the rules of war. The Confederates were threatening retaliation. Stanton sent a secret order to Governor Tod to release Morgan. The situation was explained to Tod. There was fear that the public could not be made to understand the circumstances. There was intense feeling against Morgan among the people." Radebaugh said: "Governor Tod called a conference with Colonel Young, his military secretary; Warden Merion, of the penitentiary; Colonel Burr, the quartermaster, and myself. It was decided to allow Morgan to escape. Merion was to manage the escape. We were pledged to secrecy. Morgan and his men understood this. They all walked out the front door.

"I, myself, met John Morgan just outside the prison and went with him to the depot, where he took the train for Cincinnati. This was about 10 o'clock at night. That is the true story of the escape of Morgan, as I am willing to swear to it. I suppose Governor Tod either destroyed the order from Stanton or concealed it among his personal effects. I am the only person living who took part in the affair." It has always been believed by many persons that Morgan bought his way out and Warden Merion was greatly censured by the public, but an investigation under official authority cleared his skirts. Radebaugh's reason for making the affair public is that he will soon pass away and his belief that blame will not now be attached to the men who set Morgan free.

Captain Hines, as a scout in Kentucky, was bold and daring. He gave us a great deal of trouble in May and June, before Morgan started on his thirty-day raid. He would dash into the state and our forces would pursue him and get all around him, hoping to capture him, but he always evaded us and slipped out. Since the war he has been a Kentucky judge.

THE KILLING OF GENERAL MORGAN.

Morgan got into east Tennessee after his escape and secured a new command. But few Union troops were near there at that time. One night he took quarters in a house near Greenville, President Johnson's home, his command being camped near him. It was the home of a loyal family, and one of the women quietly slipped through the lines during the night and reported to the Federal commander where Morgan was stopping. A detail of soldiers was sent out, the house surrounded and Morgan was surprised and asked to surrender. This he did not do. As he was about to leap over a fence in trying to escape, a sergeant of a Tennessee regiment shot him. On his arrival at Knoxville the sergeant received a great ovation. For the second time I saw the staff of Morgan and other officers in captivity. Their chief had fought his last battle.

This raid was a disastrous failure on Morgan's part; the damage he did to the country through which he passed was only temporary. He sacrified a splendid body of soldiers without securing an equivalent. His reckless daring and his disobedience of orders gave him some fame, but this was purchased at a fearful sacrifice, and he never regained the confidence of his superiors in the southern army.

BACK IN ROCK ISLAND.

The day we captured Morgan I rode from Salineville to Beaver, Pa., on the Ohio river. I had a 30 days' leave of absence and struck out for Rock Island. On the way to Beaver to board a western train I overtook on the road a rampant Vallandigham man. He supposed I was one of Morgan's men trying to escape and offered to aid me. I denounced him for his disloyalty.

At that time a great political campaign was going on in Ohio. A war Democrat, I think, was at the head of the Republican ticket for governor. He was elected by a heavy majority.

Leaving Rock Island and returning to my command by way of Louisville I saw a general with a full staff of officers approaching me, riding up the main street of that city. The general was a splendid specimen of the imperious Kentuckian. His staff was resplendent, elegantly mounted and richly garbed, and equipped as soldiers. I never saw a staff more brilliantly arrayed. I stopped to admire the cavalcade. Another officer who was mounted passed the general and did not salute. The general wheeled his horse and called out: "Why did you not salute me, sir?" "General, I did not salute you because on former occasions you have failed to acknowledge my salute," replied the officer.

That general was shot and killed by Gen. Jeff Davis of the northern army at the Galt house in Louisville afterwards, and Davis was never punished for the offense. The latter made a great war record afterwards. He was as proud as Lucifer and a martinet. The officer was General Nelson.

THE TENNESSEE CAMPAIGN UNDER GENERAL BURNSIDE.

The pursuit and capture of Gen. John H. Morgan in July, 1863, delayed the organization of the expedition by Gen. Burnside for the purpose of invading, capturing and holding east Tennessee. A large proportion of this locality was loyal to the government. Under the leadership of Andrew Johnson and Editor Brownlow of the Knoxville Whig, who afterward were respectively president of the United States and governor of Tennessee, the citizens remained true to the old flag. This region was in the possession of rebel troops until September, 1863, when Burnside took possession. It was never surrendered to the south after that, but was held with great tenacity during the war.

Besides the regularly organized rebel troops in the country there was a class of men (guerillas) who infested the mountains. They seemed to thrive on blood and pillage. Many a brave son of Tennessee, native and to the

manor born, was shot down and murdered in cold blood because he preferred the old government to the new southern government. To rescue these people from barbarous treatment, stop the insane persecution they were receiving, and to occupy a fertile and fair land for the old union, Burnside went into east Tennessee.

The troops which had been in pursuit of Morgan were worn out, jaded and scattered, but by the middle of August Gen. Burnside had a finely equipped army of about 15,000 good soldiers—infantry, artillery and cavalry. It was known as the army of the Ohio. Ours was the Second Brigade, Fourth Division of the 23rd Corps, commanded by Col. John W. Foster, of the 65th Indiana mounted infantry.

When I first met Colonel Foster, as commander of our brigade, I little dreamed of his future developments as a statesman and one of the most successful diplomats our country has ever produced. As secretary of state, foreign minister and all around diplomat but few Americans have a record which surpasses his.

The brigade was composed of the 14th Illinois cavalry, Fifth Indiana cavalry, 65th Indiana mounted infantry, four companies of the Ninth Ohio cavalry, four companies of the Eighth Tennessee cavalry, and Lieut. Colvin's battery—M, First Illinois light artillery. After the war Lieut. Colvin was mayor of Chicago. The corps was divided into four divisions in crossing the mountains, each pursuing different lines of march, while an additional command moved from Kentucky, hoping to take Cumberland Gap by advancing from the north side.

Our headquarters for six months had been at Glasgow, Ky. From this point we left for east Tennessee. The army centered at Jamestown, on the mountain top, and passed in review before Gen. Burnside, the only time the intrepid soldier had an opportunity to see us all together. With pride he expressed himself at the fine appearance and military bearing of his soldiers.

The main command took the direct road to east Tennessee by way of Kingston.

Under the command of Col. Graham of the Fifth Indiana, who was a good officer, always cool and brave in action, our brigade passed through Winter's Gap, had a skirmish with the enemy, and drove him at every point.

Our brigade entered Knoxville, took possession and held it on the first day of September. The official record says September 3. This was the day Gen. Burnside arrived.

When we entered Knoxville the only human being visible was Consul Jackson standing back of his gate, with the British flag fluttering in the breeze. As we dashed into Knoxville a fight was anticipated, but General Buckner had the discretion to run away before we could catch him.

Our advance guard, learning that Gen. Buckner had several trains, with steam up, loaded with soldiers and all kinds of army supplies he could carry and run off, at the station ready to move out, attempted to capture the trains. Buckner escaped only by the skin of his teeth with his trains and since that moment no rebel train has ever been in or moved out of Knoxville. Knoxville was the home of Parson Brownlow, the famous editor of the Whig. His sufferings and persecutions for his loyalty were as great as some of the apostles of olden times. After we occupied east Tennessee, he filled high places and was one of the conspicuous men of the republic.

His daughter raised a flag over their house and some rebel soldiers entered it one day to take it down. The daughter with a loaded and cocked revolver stood at the foot of the stairway leading to the attic and defied them. She drove them away and when we passed the house on our way to camp, Sept. 1st, the day of our arrival, the sacred flag was floating in the breeze. Every soldier in our command saluted the flag and cheered the brave and loyal woman. It was a dramatic scene.

The second person I saw on the street was Judge Patterson, son-in-law of President Johnson, who afterward was a United States senator from Tennessee.

Col. DeCourcey, in command of the troops which left Kentucky for that purpose, did not take Cumberland Gap. The cavalry, with Gen. Jas. M. Shackelford in command—he of Morgan fame—left Knoxville to assist in capturing the Gap from the south side.

On the 6th of September, at Powell's river, on our way to the Gap, we had a heavy skirmish with the enemy and drove them until they finally took refuge behind their works in the Gap. We had about 2,000 men and two batteries of artillery.

On the 7th, the Gap being invested, the surrender of Gen. Frazer, who commanded the rebel forces, was demanded. A flag of truce was sent in asking unconditional surrender. Gen. Frazer declined.

In the meantime communication was opened with Col. DeCourcey on the north side, Gen. Shackelford giving him some directions to prevent the enemy from escaping. He replied, saying, among other things, in substance, that he had been in the military profession since his 16th year, and thought he knew his business. Besides, he said, he was at the head of an independent command. In the meantime he also sent a flag of truce to Gen. Frazer demanding immediate surrender. Gen. Frazer was kept busy replying to the demands made by both of the Union commanders.

Finally, on the 9th, Gen. Burnside came upon the scene. After a rapid march of 60 miles from Knoxville in five hours with his staff and escort, he cut the correspondence short by demanding an unconditional surrender. This was complied with, and the garrison of over 2,000 men, with all arms and munitions of war, fell into our hands. He relieved Col. DeCourcey from his command.

I was placed in charge of Gen. Shackelford's escort or body guard during the siege of Cumberland Gap. The morning of the surrender a generous breakfast was pre-

pared at the house of a citizen for the comfort of all connected with the headquarters of Generals Burnside and Shackelford. I sat near these gentlemen, and was greatly entertained with their conversation. Gen. Frazer sat by the side of Gen. Shackelford. He was in a very bad humor. He had been patronizing the commissary liberally, and was garrulous in his talk. He was discourteous, as I thought, to his captors, who treated him with kindness and generosity.

As a prisoner he was confined at Fort Warren, Boston harbor. From here he promulgated a statement explaining his surrender, and endeavoring to excuse himself for his ill-fated luck; he had been severely censured by his superior officers, among whom was President Davis. He said he made his statement as an act of self-defense to his fair name and to wipe out unjust aspersions cast upon him. He had risked all an officer of honor holds dear in doing what he did. He said Gen. Buckner on Aug. 21 ordered him to hold the Gap, and agreed to protect him. Buckner, on Aug. 30, ordered him to evacuate and report to Gen. Sam Jones at Abingdon, Va. He had 40 days' rations, and supposed this last order was a trick of the enemy. Buckner again requested him, Aug. 31, to hold the Gap and follow the instructions given him on the 21st.

He described his untenable position, and talked of his lack of soldiers, his limited supply of ammunition, and his failure to increase that supply. He looked for an attack only from the north side. A spring on the south side, half a mile from the Gap, supplied him with water. He was only 300 yards in an air line from the spring. He made an effort to carry the water this distance up the mountain on telegraph wires, but failed. He finally stored a limited quantity of water in tanks. In hauling this the oxen broke down for want of forage. Before the investment he had sent to Abingdon the spare horses and artillery he could not use to advantage.

He said his command, in discipline, drill and efficiency, was deplorable. Fog in the forenoon was dense, and a

body of men could approach very near without discovery. His defenses were only rifle pits. One of his colonels was absent in North Carolina, advocating reunion; one of his captains was under arrest for disseminating papers among the soldiers hostile to the Confederacy, a major was commanding a regiment who had surrendered some months previous to a gang of Yankee raiders, and who had been paroled; the colonel and lieutenant colonel of the 64th N. C. had left in disgrace for dishonorable conduct; the major assumed command of the regiment, but was suspended for incompetency.

The 55th Ga. rode their colonel on a rail, which he did not resent, but promised his soldiers to behave himself in the future. The troops defending the mill, which furnished the flour for his command, when attacked, ran away, demoralized and panic stricken. They did not know where their officers were, or what had become of them. Only one man was wounded, and he by his comrades. The mill was burned by the Yankees. Anarchy and confusion were supreme, and desertions of daily occurrence.

Lieut. O'Connor, one of Frazer's subordinates, says Col. Slemp's men were ordered to turn over 100 horses for artillery purposes, and, that when drawn up in line for that purpose, half of them were absent without leave. The remainder were mutinous and cursed their officers and the Confederacy.

Another lieutenant (Hunter) said the ammunition at the Gap was removed from a leaky magazine and placed under a shed for six weeks. A storm came, blew the shed down, by which the ammunition was exposed. It was removed into a damp old foundry, where it remained for months before the magazine was repaired. The powder in some boxes was perfect slush, he said. He referred to the fight around the mill, the burning of the mill, and artillery duel, and the quick and rapid advance of our forces in opening a gap in their ranks. The next morning the rebel artillery opened, but this was ordered

stopped. All expected a fight. The day was spent in sending and receiving flags of truce. Small arms and ammunition were issued, and the men were anxious to fight.

When information was received that Gen. Frazer had surrendered, some broke their guns and others burned their regimental colors. He said great chagrin and disappointment existed, and some of the soldiers actually wept. He insists they were all anxious to go into battle.

Commanding an escort was new work for me. The only one I had ever seen was that of Gen. Burnside. The men had been detailed from the various cavalry regiments. Some were good soldiers, some indifferent and some worthless. I could not rely on the men in an emergency and asked to have my company in the 14th detailed for the work. With good sense Gen. Shackelford declined this proposition. A fine company of soldiers were preserved from demoralization. I had Sergt. Scribner, of my company, detailed, (afterward commissioned regimental commissary) who aided me greatly in keeping the escort under fair discipline. In this capacity I served from Sept 9 until Oct. 22. After making repeated requests, I was finally relieved and returned to my regiment. I have the original order before me as I write. The concluding sentence reads:

"The General commanding takes the opportunity of expressing his gratitude to Lieut. Connelly for the faithful manner in which he has performed his duties whilst attached to headquarters."

Capt. J. E. Hoffman, Assistant Adjutant General, signed this order. Capt. Hoffman was a pleasant, elegant gentleman. Since the day he left east Tennessee for Kentucky, when Gen. Shackelford was relieved, I have neither seen or heard anything from him. I trust he is alive, prosperous and happy.

After the siege of Knoxville, Gen. Carter commanded the post. He had for his escort a fine company from an Ohio cavalry regiment. The horses were gray and pre-

sented a fine appearance. As a rule when not on the march, an escort has too much leisure time and not enough work. The men are liable to become demoralized and careless.

When Gen. Wheeler came into east Tennessee in the summer of 1864, he had with him 10,000 men. As they approached Knoxville, Gen. Carter's escort was sent out to aid in repelling Wheeler's advance. The escort, officers and men, ran at the first volley from the enemy. The escort was disgraced and ordered to its regiment.

Gen. Shackelford was a kind-hearted genial gentleman. Under all circumstances he was courteous to those with whom he came in contact. One evening a little incident occurred not agreeable for me. We were advancing up through east Tennessee, driving everything before us. Generals Burnside's and Shackelfords' headquarters were close to each other every night. On this day the escort was guarding a train. We did not follow the general in person. I had heard nothing from him during the day, and supposed he would take shelter somewhere in a house.

Late at night he appeared with his staff, and found no preparation for his coming. I soon had the men out putting up tents, and after a few minutes all the camp comforts were in good shape. Gen. Shackelford said to me that George, his black boy, who had the care of his horses, said there was no corn for them, that he would prefer to suffer himself for something to eat than have his horses suffer.

I replied that I had always striven to do my duty since entering the service, and that George would find plenty of corn in the wagon. Other articles had been thrown over the corn, and it was covered up, hence George supposed there was none. Gen. Shackelford had with him in this campaign the superb mare Gen. Morgan was riding when captured in Ohio. She was given to him by Gen. Morgan the morning after the latter was captured. He also rode a very fine black horse. It was stated this horse

had been given him by Gen. James S. Jackson, of Kentucky, who fell mortally wounded at Perryville. Some years before the war Gen. Jackson had married a lady whose father lived and died in Rock Island. I had met Gen. Jackson in Rock Island.

July 4, 1855, I think it was, he was present at a barbecue given at the Watch Tower. With others my recollection is, he made a short speech. We all had a most delightful time. One of the jolly incidents of the day, I remember which amused every body, was a foot race between Dr. Gregg and Jacob Norris.

Having previously come in contact with both the former owners of Gen. Shackelford's horses, I also felt a special interest in them. Like Gen. Shackelford, rather than have them go without corn I would have gone hungry myself.

After Gen. Burnside's return from the Gap to Knoxville, Gen. Halleck dispatched him to hold the gaps of the North Carolina mountains, the line of the Holston river, and connect with Gen. Rosecrans. This was a distance of 200 miles. Gen. Jones was in the upper Tennessee valley, and Col. Foster's command, in which was the 14th, had done good service in holding him in check. All the cavalry moved up the valley, and part of the infantry.

The loyal people of east Tennessee, as we advanced, were wild at the arrival of our forces.

Nothing was too good for the Yankee soldiers. As we entered Greenville, the home of President Johnson, casting my eye to the left I saw in the hall of a house two aged people, husband and wife, no doubt. Some distance back in the hall the old man was on bended knees with uplifted hands, and his wife stood by his side with her hands raised, both in a supplicating attitude. They no doubt were thanking God for our presence and their deliverance.

John J. Crittenden, the patriot and statesman of Kentucky, the warm friend of Henry Clay, who filled many places of honor as governor, United States senator, mem-

ber of the house, and other positions, had two sons. One of them was a colonel in the Union army and the other was a colonel in the Confederate army. They were both in east Tennessee at the same time and the morning we entered Jonesboro, before sun up, with Gen. Shackelford, his staff and escort, we found Col. Crittenden of the 12th Kentucky cavalry and his staff occupying the court house as quarters for the night. We aroused them from their sleep. Col. Crittenden made a report to Gen. Shackelford. Quietly it was whispered that the two colonels and brothers met during the night under a flag of truce and had a delightful visit with each other, talking about family and other affairs.

We doubt if there are many instances in the history of the world of brothers occupying so high a rank confronting each other and meeting face to face on the field of battles, as "enemies in war, in peace, friends."

On the 13th Gen. Halleck telegraphed Gen. Burnside to move his forces toward Chattanooga and to connect with Rosecrans. On the 14th he said to Burnside, "The enemy will give battle, and you must be there to help." Burnside started all available troops down, and continued himself up the valley above Jonesboro with the cavalry. We were driving the enemy into Virginia. Col. Foster was ordered to get into the enemy's rear at Watauga Bridge. As soon as his presence was discovered the enemy burned the bridge and retreated on the night of the 23d. Gen. Shackelford continued the pursuit, and Gen. Burnside started to aid Rosecrans at Chattanooga.

One evening, after a heavy rain and a hard day's pursuit, Gen. Shackelford and staff stopped at an ordinary looking farm house in Virginia, near the Tennessee line, expecting to secure quarters for the night. The headquarters train was in the rear too far to get up in time. The occupant of the house proved to be an old gentleman by the name of Preston, a member of the distinguished southern family by that name. His eyesight seemed to be poor. All entered, and Capt. Hoffman said:

"Mr. Preston, this is Gen. Shackelford."

Mr. Preston responded: "Gentlemen, you will please get out of my house."

Capt. Hoffman, supposing he did not understand what he said, again remarked: "Mr. Preston, this is Gen. Shackelford."

The same response came from Mr. Preston: "Gentlemen, you will please get out of my house."

Gen. Shackelford then spoke up: "Certainly, Mr. Preston, we will get out of your house. Good day, sir."

We all left the house, fell back a mile or two, and had quarters at a large brick house for the night—a very comfortable home.

When we were approaching Bristol, near the Virginia line, we were hotly pursuing the enemy. On a road to our left a warm fight was going on. Gen. Shackelford called for an officer with a good horse to carry a message. Col. Motley, on his beautiful dapple-gray, and myself spurred up to the front at the same time. The colonel said to me he had ridden a good deal that day, and if I wished I could carry the message. Gen. Shackelford suggested that I go to the rear some distance before crossing over on the left. I did not get far enough back, left the road too soon, and plunged into the woods. I was riding with great speed, when suddenly I noticed a battle line in front of me. It was the rebel line moving up a hill, and I was in their rear. Instantly I realized my fix, the enemy seeing me at the same moment. I quickly wheeled my horse, retraced my steps, the rebels at the same time pouring a volley into me. Neither myself nor my noble horse received a scratch.

As soon as I reported to my regiment, after performing escort duty, I was placed with my company in command of a battery of howitzers, four brass 12-pounders with caissons attached. I had no knowledge of artillery tactics, but went to work to master the general details. I drilled the company thoroughly, and was soon prepared for active work in the field. Each gun and each caisson

was drawn by four horses. The battery was admirable for cavalry service. Its presence always encouraged and stimulated the men. The guns were often placed on the skirmish line.

Soon after I took charge of the battery, General Kautz, chief inspector, inspected the battery and pronounced it in good shape. Afterward he became famous as a cavalry general in the east.

Longstreet was advancing from Chattanooga to east Tennessee with his corps of 20,000 men. Grave doubt was entertained by Gen. Burnside, as well as the Washington officials, as to holding the country against this formidable force. Charles A. Dana, then assistant secretary of war, who was at Knoxville, reported that in the event of east Tennessee being abandoned Burnside did not agree with Gen. Grant to retreat by way of Kingston. This would uncover all gaps in the Cumberland mountains, and leave the trains coming over to easy capture. If compelled, Burnside concluded to retreat by way of Cumberland Gap and hold Morristown and Bean Station. At this date (Nov. 13) he did not have more than four days' supplies in Knoxville.

We had neither forage nor rations. Our sufferings were intolerable. With the battery I made the trip successfully and was on the skirmish line when we met Longstreet's advance, near the ford at Loudon. With a portion of his army he crossed the river before we arrived.

Gen. Hascall, of the 23rd corps and Col. Cameron, of the 65th Illinois infantry, had a warm controversy about something in the presence of Burnside, near Bristol and Capt. Montgomery had a company in the 65th impressed at Charleston, S. C., and with other captains was placed under fire of the U. S. bombarding fleet as retaliation.

On the 16th of November a battle was fought with Longstreet at Campbell's Station. A portion of the cavalry was sent out under command of Gen. Sanders on the Kingston road early on the morning of the 17th and took a position about a mile from the Knoxville line of defense.

This was for the purpose of holding the enemy in check to give more time for strengthening the fortifications.

The cavalry remained there until noon of the 18th, doing very fine service. About the time an order was received by Gen. Sanders to retire he was mortally wounded. As chief of cavalry on Burnside's staff we had seen a good deal of him, and came to like him very much. The entire army mourned the death of this faithful officer.

"In his casket he lay like a warrior taking his rest,
With his martial cloak around him."

June 14, 1863, with 150 men, he made a successful raid into upper Tennessee, as much for spying out the land before Burnside entered, and ascertaining full knowledge of the enemy in that region as for any other purpose. He destroyed railroad tracks, bridges, and large depots of supplies. This raid gave him great fame.

The defenses of Knoxville were placed under the charge of Gen. O. M. Poe, chief engineer of the army of the Ohio. With energy, and in the face of many discouragements, he commenced fortifying Knoxville. The great success which followed his work has made a record for him as an engineer which will always be bright in military annals.

Fort Sanders, named after the gallant dead general, was the principal point of attack at Knoxville. On the 29th, at 6 A. M., under cover of a dense fog, Longstreet's army assaulted the fort. The attack was repulsed and the assaulting column almost destroyed. In his report Gen. Poe says he knows of no incident in history where a storming party was so nearly annihilated. The slaughter, caused chiefly by our men using hand grenades, was simply fearful and appalling.

Out of the great mass making the assault not 100 men returned to their lines unhurt.

I met Gen. Poe some years ago in Rock Island. We had a brief talk about the east Tennessee campaign, and he related this incident:

When Gen. Burnside left east Tennessee he was also relieved from duty. On the 14th day of December, between 1 and 2 o'clock P. M., the day the battle of Bean Station was fought, he started north from this point by way of Cumberland Gap. In crossing Clinch mountains he saw in advance of him a squad of men, either rebel soldiers or guerillas. He thought his hour for capture had arrived, but kept moving right along, and passed the group without a word being spoken by either party.

There was but one other person with him. The squad did not know the prize they had within their grasp. They may have been there to capture a greater one.

During the siege the supply question was a great one. The French Broad river and the Sevierville road remained open. These were great avenues for supplying the army. After 19 days, when the siege of Knoxville closed, provisions were on hand for only a few days.

The army was very short of rations during the siege and great suffering existed among the troops as well as citizens. Several regiments of Indiana boys 16 and 17 years old had been organized in Indiana after the Morgan raid, we presume for State protection. Troops were in great demand and these boys were sent to Knoxville.

After arriving in Tennessee, the poor fellows died like flies. They had no powers of endurance and had received no discipline as soldiers. They were starved. I saw the young emaciated soldiers in the streets of Knoxville, watching for the droppings from horses. With a stick they fished out the grains of corn, took them to camp, rinsed them off and boiled them for food. After frost we had great quantities of persimmons.

The Indiana boys fed on these wherever they could. They were known as the "Persimmon Brigade." My heart bled for the poor unhappy recruits, many of whom, no doubt, left happy homes and parents, they never again saw. It was a cruel wrong to send them into Tennessee.

Col. Graham, of the 5th Indiana, was in command of about 1,000 men on the outside of Knoxville during the

siege. December 1 our pickets were attacked on the Knoxville road. A strong reinforcement was sent to support the pickets with the howitzers of the 14th. Firing continued all day, both parties holding their ground stubbornly. A cavalry force of the enemy at 9 P. M. tried to surround our command and capture it, but failed. We retreated quietly to Walker's Ford, on the Clinch river. The next morning we were attacked in force. The 14th, under command of Col. Capron, took the road leading to Rutledge, while Col. Graham held the road leading to the ford. Col. Graham had a severe engagement, but stubbornly held his position. Gen. Martin and Col. Debrell of the rebel cavalry, were wounded, and the latter's adjutant general killed. A rebel captain who led a charge in this fight was also killed.

Col. Capron, with the 14th, was on the Maynardsville road when Col. Graham was fighting at Walker's Ford. A portion of the 14th guarded the river crossing, while the 3rd battalion was sent to reinforce our advance column. They took a strong position in a narrow gorge. The rebel cavalry charged with a heavy column, but were repulsed. They moved a portion of their command to the right, and then charged in front and on our right flank, but were again repulsed. They attacked both flanks and charged in front. To avoid being flanked we fell back towards the river. Here firing was continued for some time from both sides. The howitzers took a position on the bank of the river, the 3rd battalion supporting them, the 1st and 2nd battalions continuing the fight. The two latter were finally overpowered by superior numbers and flanked by sharpshooters, but retired in good order. While this was going on the howitzers were shelling the enemy as they advanced. Col. Capron, in his report, says:

"At this moment our position became critical, as their sharpshooters occupied the heights in good range of our position, but were fortunately held in check by our

howitzers until the fire of the rebels gradually slackened. The whole command fought with coolness and bravery.

I had the howitzers in an open field within easy range of the rebel sharpshooters. The bullets whistled all around us, but did little execution. We think the high elevation from which they shot prevented them from firing accurately. We had seven men wounded and eleven missing. We captured eighteen prisoners. They took with them their dead and wounded."

Longstreet, with his entire corps continued his retreat up the valley. Our cavalry gave him no rest. On December 14 a well arranged plan for our capture was laid; had it succeeded it would have destroyed our entire force. We then numbered about 2,500 men; this was a mere handful to cope with Longstreet's experienced soldiers. In his report he says he issued orders for his command to be in readiness to march on the 14th, with the hope of being able to surprise and capture our cavalry at Bean's Station.

His main column came directly from Rogersville to Bean's Station. Gen. Martin, with four brigades of cavalry, moved on the south side, and Gen. W. E. Jones, with three brigades of cavalry, passed down on the north side. We had a strong picket force in our front guarding well the approaches. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon, while we were in camp, suddenly shells commenced bursting in our midst.

Promptly every soldier took his proper place, and we moved to take our position in the line-of-battle as speedily as we could go. It was not long before we had the howitzers in position on the left of the road, the 14th taking a place in the line-of-battle on our left flank. We observed a battle line advancing towards us, covering the width of the plain, probably a mile in extent.

It was a beautiful day, the sun shining warmly and brightly. After a time the second line-of-battle came in view. All the artillery we had—Colvin's Illinois battery, the two rifled guns of the 5th Ind. and the howitzers—

were loading and firing with great rapidity. As the shells burst over the heads of the advancing foe instantly the line would drop to the ground, rise, close up and advance in splendid order. It was inspiring to see the enemy advance with solid front. Our weak line-of-battle confronting so large a force, with intrepid daring finally made the advancing enemy hesitate. The rapidity with which they fired their artillery was enough to demoralize our command. They report in this brief battle they shot about 800 solid shot and shell.

After a time all of my ammunition was expended, and I hurriedly went to the train in the rear to secure another supply. We lost no time, but made the trip quickly in the midst of a most fearful cannonade. In passing an old log house my attention was attracted to a solitary horseman sitting on his horse behind the building snug and close. I should have been delighted if I could have properly taken a place by his side until after this furious cannonade was passed, but my place was elsewhere. After securing a new supply of ammunition we returned to the line-of-battle. We were directed at this time to report to Col. Wolford, who was being strongly pressed on our right flank. We placed our guns in position on the crest of a hill and opened the battery. Immediately the sharpshooters directed their attention to us, but we stood our ground until our ammunition was exhausted.

As we fired the last shot we discovered the rebels coming out of the woods and charging to take our battery. We quickly limbered up and got out, and as we were leaving the field a volley was poured into us. A horse ridden by a postillion in the rear gun commenced stumbling, the rider whipping and swearing at him to keep him from falling. We saw the horse was shot, and promptly directed the men to dismount and cut him out, the postillion quickly mounting the off horse. This work was done almost without stopping the gun, and we came off the field with our entire battery. The rider of the horse that was

shot was Oscar O. Day, who lived and died in Rock Island after the war. He was always plucky and gritty in a fight. Col. Wolford some little time before this lost a battery of howitzers by capture, and we took a good deal of pride in keeping ours out of the clutches of the enemy. Lieut. W. E. Sanford, Co. I of the 14th, was in a position to see what was going on that day. He wrote a description of this fight. We make an extract:

"Our howitzer battery was now removed from its position on the road and hurried to the support of Wolford. We will follow this battery to the right and witness the struggle there, as depicted by Featherton, he being with a provost-guard of 40 men who were sent to reinforce Wolford at this time.

"Lieut. Connelly, after reporting to the brave warrior, planted his little battery and again opened upon the enemy with his spherical-cased field shell with telling effect. At length Col. Wolford rode up and remarked that, his men being out of ammunition, the whole line would be compelled to fall back. The lieutenant remarked:

" 'I have but few shells left, and would like permission to plant them among the enemy.' This request was granted, but the delay caused by carrying out the suggestion had nearly proved fatal to Wolford's command and the battery. About the time the last shell was fired the rebels emerged from the woods on our right, charging with fiendish fury and overwhelming force. His men having exhausted their ammunition, Wolford's line now fell back in good order, bringing off all the guns successfully.

"While Lieut. Connelly was engaged in expending his last shell, Wolford's brave men, though out of ammunition and thus powerless, remained cooly and defiantly in their position, receiving the fierce fire of the foe, without power to retaliate, while the little battery poured a constant shower of shell into their massed lines with pre-

cision, which exploded with regularity, scattering fragments of death-dealing iron in their midst.

"The slaughter of their men at this point was terrible, and kept in check their line until Connelly, too, was exhausted of ammunition and the line compelled to fall back as just narrated. In Wolford's command was the 112th Ill. M't'd Inf., as true and noble a band of heroes as ever kept step to the "music of the Union," and commanded by the gallant Colonel (now Brigadier-General by brevet) Thos. J. Henderson.

"Colvin, too, was exhausted of ammunition and compelled to retire. Colvin this day added fresh laurels to his brow, while our little howitzers lost not a mite of their well-earned reputation by the skillful and bold conduct of Lieut. Connelly. As a reward for his gallantry and skill, Lieut. Connelly was this day recommended for promotion from Second Lieutenant to Captain, and received his commission shortly after. The superior officer, Gen. Shackleford, never acquitted himself more nobly or more skillfully. The cool and skillful Graham almost excelled himself in the management of the brigade, while the stubborn Capron, with his handful of the 14th, boldly held in check Longstreet's fierce desperadoes. Capt. Dent, in charge of advanced skirmishers, displayed his usual coolness, skill, and judgment. Indeed, every officer acquitted himself heroically and skillfully in his command, while, as before stated, the conduct of the men was never excelled."

Gen. Bushrod R. Johnson, in his report of this fight, speaks of one of his brigades being exposed to the fire of a Federal battery on the left (our right) of the Knoxville road, and on an elevation on the south side of the valley, while fighting our cavalry. He also speaks, after his batteries had been playing on us, of a battery moving to his left and front to a commanding position, when it opened on a well-formed line of his cavalry. This refers to the howitzers.

In the official records of the rebellion, printed by the government, we find full detailed reports of the confederate officers, Gen. Longstreet and his chief subordinates; Gen. Longstreet saying in his report: "We could not catch the enemy's cavalry."

This was the last battle Gen. Shackleford fought in east Tennessee. With Burnside he went north. We have failed to find in the rebellion records an official report of this fight from any of our commanding officers.

After the battle was over, and we were no longer under fire, we discovered every gun-carriage we had was completely shattered. We had exhausted the ammunition especially prepared for our guns, and had filled our caissons with spherical case 12-pound field shells made for a heavy field battery. The charge of powder was too great, and the concussion splintered the carriages. We went to Knoxville with the guns to have them repaired. We reported to Gen. Tillson, Chief of Artillery, and asked for an order to have the work done. When we informed him how we had damaged the gun carriages he was incredulous. He regarded it as a most wonderful result in artillery firing, and was surprised that the brass pieces were not shattered as badly as the gun carriages. He insisted we should write out a full, detailed report of our work and experience in using the heavy shells, and file it in his office. This is the only report we have made. If he is living and this strikes his eye, I hope it will be satisfactory to him.

All regretted the departure of Gen. Burnside from east Tennessee. He was very popular with his command. He seemed to be a just man, and worked hard to discharge his duty faithfully to his comrades. He left us after making a splendid record. His able defense of Knoxville, under adverse circumstances and against a greatly superior force, will go down in history as one of the great events of the war. He was a kind-hearted man, but unrelenting when circumstances warranted. One day

I was in the telegraph office in Knoxville. He was also there with an operator sending dispatches. A captain and lieutenant of a Tennessee regiment came in. The captain was drunk. He was abusing the lieutenant about some personal affair. He did not notice the General's presence. Burnside listened for a time to the billingsgate which was being poured out by the captain, and then went up to him and asked him his name and regiment, and said to him:

"Sir! You disgrace your uniform! You are unworthy to wear it! You shall not wear it!" And catching hold of one of the captain's shoulder-straps he tore it from his coat and threw it on the floor.

Many refugees from Tennessee and North Carolina poured into Knoxville after our arrival. A sergeant of my regiment, a fine looking intelligent fellow and a native of Connecticut, one day came to me to have me go with him to see Gen. Burnside, and ask him to commission him a lieutenant, in a cavalry regiment 6th Tennessee, then being organized. I said to the young man, "Go and see him yourself. Tell him who you are, that you were reared and educated in Connecticut, and what you want, in a few words." He did so, and received a commission as lieutenant.

In the vicinity of Morristown, Dandridge and other points in east Tennessee in the latter part of December the cavalry was continuously in the saddle and fighting almost every day. Gen. Elliott, commanding a fine division of cavalry from the army of the Cumberland, reinforced us. We gave the enemy no rest, and kept hammering him every day.

On the morning of December 20, Longstreet advanced with most of his cavalry, a division of infantry and two batteries of artillery. We had a general fight along the entire line. Our loss this day was about 100 killed, wounded and missing. The enemy lost from 200 to 400. We buried 20 of their dead. Afterward the citizens reported to us 20 wagons were used in carrying away their

dead, and that "they were piled in like hogs." In this fight the 1st East Tennessee cavalry, commanded by Lieut. Col. Jim Brownlow, made a saber charge which did honor to this dashing officer and his soldiers. Colonel Jim and Major John, sons of Governor Brownlow, were in a Tennessee cavalry regiment.

When in Washington not long after the war was over, I met Col. Coffin, who had served in a Kentucky cavalry regiment. He held a place in the war department. I went to his office one day and we talked over the east Tennessee campaign, especially the battle of Bean Station. At the close of our talk he said to me, "Do you remember who commanded the Confederate cavalry in this fight on their right?"

I promptly said, "General W. E. Jones." A gentleman sat at the opposite side of the desk but took no part in our conversation. Col. Coffin said to me, "Major Connelly, this is General Jones, whom you confronted at Bean Station." General Jones was filling a comfortable place in the war department.

One night an orderly came to my tent and awoke me about 12 o'clock and asked me to report to Gen. Sturgis. I did so and found him with Col. Palmer of a Pennsylvania regiment, who made a bright record. Gen. Sturgis wished to consult us on some movements he contemplated making the next day, and which were successfully executed. Gen. Palmer made a fortune after the war building railroads in Colorado.

Not many years ago he invited every living member of his regiment to join him at Colorado Springs in a reunion. At an expense of $75,000 he entertained his old comrades, paying for their transportation and everything else. The veteran hero was laid to rest, not very long ago. Comrade, Hail and Farewell!

November 6 Col. Israel Garrard, of the 7th Ohio Cavalry, commanding a brigade, dispatched that he had been totally defeated. He reported that he had lost Phillip's Illinois battery and two-thirds of his command near

Rogersville. The enemy swooped down upon the 7th Ohio and the 2d Tennessee mounted infantry. After their capture many of both regiments escaped. Col. Garrard was a skillful and accomplished officer.

This was one of those occurrences which at times seem unavoidable. Two rebel brigades were the attacking party. The rebel Gen. Ransom reported the capture of 850 prisoners, four pieces of artillery, 60 wagons and 1,000 animals. He says only 300 animals were brought in, and charges his soldiers with running off the remainder and selling them.

Gen. Sturgis, who succeeded Gen. Shackelford, being in command of the cavalry on the 28th of January, advanced toward the French Broad river on the road leading from Fair Garden to Dandridge. We constantly kept the enemy on the jump. They would make a strong stand, only to be driven back. In the afternoon they were reinforced by three regiments of infantry. They took a strong position in a dense wood, and threw up rail barricades late in the afternoon. Our line of battle was almost within pistol-shot of their barricades. A staff officer of Col. Wolford requested me to report to him with my battery. We started quickly, and had gone but a short distance when in passing Gen. Sturgis he asked me where we were going. We told him. He replied:

"Please say to Col. Wolford not to open the battery. If you do you will uncover our position and give the enemy an advantage."

We moved up and reported to Col. Wolford what Gen. Sturgis said. He made no reply, but his adjutant was very anxious to have us open the battery, remarking that it would encourage the men greatly.

While we were discussing the question the rebels made a charge. We found ourselves in a hornet's nest, with bullets flying thick and fast. Col. Wolford was cool and calm. Our forces resisted the charge with splendid courage. Col. LaGrange's men at one time wavered, but with cocked revolver he rode along his line encouraging his men to

stand firm. He insisted on every one keeping his place, and with great skill and bravery he kept them there. Gen. Tom Henderson's 112th Illinois fought gallantly in this engagement. As long as I shall live and retain my memory I shall not forget the cool daring and great generalship displayed by Cols. Wolford and LaGrange. We fought the enemy until dark, left him behind his barricade, and retreated in good order, not going into camp until late at night.

As we were falling back, Gen. Sturgis rode by my side a long time. He was a good talker and genial. He spoke of the hardships which the cavalry had experienced since they had been in east Tennessee, and said that he was determined to take the troopers to Kentucky, and have them newly and well equipped for the coming Atlanta campaign. He said we would proceed to Kentucky at once.

This was the first whisper I had heard of the cavalry going north, and it was very cheering news. We had been in the open field all winter in east Tennessee, had continually encountered the enemy, had suffered many a day from cold and hunger. We often found ourselves after the siege of Knoxville with nothing but parched corn to eat, or whatever else good fortune might throw in our way.

We went directly the next day to Tuckaleechee Cove. The troopers had never been in this cove, and we found everything in abundance. The whole command was joyous and happy with the prospect of going north. It meant a visit to loved ones at home for many of us.

General John G. Foster, who succeeded Burnside, never took the field in person. Longstreet was driven into Virginia. Only small bands remained in east Tennessee and there was no occasion for General Foster to enter the field.

During the Mossy Creek campaign, Col. Butler of the Fifth Indiana cavalry, was supporting the battery. In front the enemy appeared in large numbers. They did

not reply to our guns. They were on a high elevation and seemed to be waiting for something to occur. Col. Butler and myself were sitting on our horses facing the south. We expected a surprise of some kind. It finally came. To rake our entire line of battle a rebel battery had been planted on an elevated point to our right, or south of us. The first shot, which seemed to be a piece of railroad iron, whizzed viciously past us. We were greatly exposed, and it was no doubt aimed at us. Remaining there as a target would be suicidal. I directed the battery to limber up and retire.

At Mossy Creek when we were in line of battle, the band of the 112th Illinois mounted infantry (General Henderson's regiment) had taken possession of a large brick seminary, badly wrecked and without windows. Just before the battle, when everything was still as death, the strains of the national airs played by the band could be heard for miles. As the line of battle was about to move off in a charge, the band struck up the "Star Spangled Banner." The inspiration was grand. I will never hear that great national air played again with the same thrilling effect.

The army not only suffered for rations in east Tennessee, but it was poorly clad during intensely cold weather. After the siege of Knoxville, when supplies commenced coming in, one day during the Mossy Creek campaign, boots and shoes were distributed to the men while in line of battle. The old ones were left on the ground where the exchange was made. A charge immediately after was ordered and successfully made. The rebels regained courage and charged our line, driving us back beyond our former position.

After a short time we made the second charge, retaking the ground we had occupied when the boots and shoes were issued. Not an old boot or shoe could be seen anywhere. Longstreet's men had taken every one of them. The poor fellows suffered as much as we did for rations, and their clothing was more tattered and torn than ours.

When we entered east Tennessee, at Strawberry Plains, a few miles from Knoxville, up the valley, a fine bridge spanned the river. It was burned. Our people went to work to rebuild it. It was up, a floor laid down, but no protection on either side. One day our command started to cross on top of the bridge. While we were on it the column was halted. I was riding a spirited horse. After stopping he became nervous and restless. My saber was buckled to the saddle. My overcoat, including the cape, was buttoned up closely. The horse continued to dance around, so I concluded to dismount.

While in this act the saber-hilt caught under the cape. I could not reach the ground and I hung suspended, powerless and unable to aid myself. One of my men hastily dismounted and lifted me up so that I got out of my bad box. The horse was greatly frightened, and at one time got fearfully close to the edge of the bridge. It was very high; nothing but rocks beneath. I shall always feel grateful to the soldier.

When out on a scout one day, coming near a house built in the woods, I heard some one crying most piteously. I rode to the rear of the house and found an old woman bending over a wash tub containing a man's clothes completely saturated with blood. In explanation she said the guerillas had found her son at home, and he was unable to escape from them. They had riddled him with bullets. He was a member of a Tennessee regiment.

At another time I had charge of a scouting party between London and Knoxville. We discovered a troop of cavalry coming toward us, supposing them to be the enemy. Both parties prepared for action, when, on coming nearer to each other, I found it to be a Union force, commanded by my fellow townsman, Col. Henry Curtis, who was an assistant adjutant general on duty at Gen. Schofield's headquarters.

Col. Curtis went out as a lieutenant in the Thirty-seventh Illinois infantry, and when Col. White was made a brigadier after the Pea Ridge battle, in which he dis-

tinguished himself, he had Lieutenant Curtis appointed adjutant general.

General White with his adjutant went east and was at Harper's Ferry when Col. Miles disgracefully surrendered his command. The prisoners were paroled. The cavalry cut their way out. General White demanded a court of inquiry which acquitted him and found he had acted with great bravery. I went to Col. Curtis one day at Knoxville, after general orders had been issued cutting off all leaves of absence, with a view of centering everything near Chattanooga for the great Atlanta campaign, and asked him to give me a leave. He said, "You know what our orders are." "Yes," I replied. "But I wish to be made an exception." He took from his desk a blank leave and commenced filling it out, when Gen. Schofield entered the room. As quick as lightning he put it back in his desk. After the general had left the room he completed my leave of absence and I came home. It was always a mystery to the officers of my command how I got that leave. Col. Curtis was always vigilant and faithful in the discharge of his duties. After the war he would often make to me some playful remark about my well trained "bull dogs." For nearly twenty years previous to his death we were in close business relations and friends.

Soon after this we left the road and moved along the river bank to strike another road near a ford. We found two men at their homes who were greatly alarmed when they saw us, supposing we were rebel cavalrymen returning to take them prisoners. Only a few minutes before a rebel scouting party had crossed the river at this point 500 strong. They told the two men they were going to Loudon to burn the bridge. If we had approached the ford on the road leading to it we would have come in contact with them. They did not go to Loudon.

When near Fair Garden one day we moved out early, expecting to have quite a fight. Skirmishers were deployed, and we took position at a strong point with the

battery. We watched and waited for some time, but failed to discover the exact position of the rebels. On our right there was a high point in advance of our skirmishers. I rode to this point to see if I could locate the enemy's line. I had no sooner arrived at the top of the knoll when a heavy volley was fired at me. On my escape and return to the battery a comrade said to me:

"I have always thought that you would live to get home. I am now certain of it." We both returned safely to our homes, but our comrade many years ago was laid to rest.

Shortly before Gen. Burnside left for the north, he reviewed all the troops in the vicinity of Bean Station. As they passed him in review, he being dismounted, each commander leading his column would give the salute, fall out and take his place beside the general. He talked freely and asked many questions. My men burnished up brightly the howitzers and all equipments and in the bright sunlight they made a fine showing. After getting into camp Col. Capron sent for me and informed me that Gen. Burnsnde highly commended the appearance of the battery and the fine showing my company made; and that he would like to see all officers keep their commands up to the highest standard.

Gen. Burnside was not popular in the east with his superior officers. They criticised him as being sluggish and slow in his movements and of always being behind time in forming his connections on the battlefield. I never discovered in him a lack of energy or a failure to take advantage of every emergency presented to him. His defense of Knoxville in meeting successfully the heroic soldiers of Longstreet will always live in history as one of the great events of the war.

There is a tradition in Knoxville that Gen. Burnside was relieved because he placed around the moat outside of Fort Sanders barbed wire to obstruct the rebel charges expected to be made on the fort. This is a mistake. Gen. Burnside was relieved at his own request, because he had

completed the work he was sent into east Tennessee to do. Gen. Poe, chief engineer, constructed and had charge of the Knoxville defenses. He was the man who placed the barbed wire about the fort. For defensive purposes it was effective. We doubt if Gen. Burnside knew it was there until after Longstreet failed to take the fort by his daring and insane charges.

When near Greenville I was required to make an official visit to Knoxville. I rode into the village with my orderly who secured permission to occupy Andrew Johnson's stables for my horses. At that time I had no thought they were eating government rations at the crib of one who was to be president of the United States. I boarded the caboose of the freight train and in it found Mrs. Patterson, a daughter of the coming president, and her niece, going to Knoxville also. Mrs. Patterson later presided at the White House. She was a charming lady and her niece captivating. They invited me to lunch with them. We had a delightful trip on the rickety old train.

The little one-story frame tailor shop of President Johnson stood within a few feet of his modest home on the same lot at that time. He never attended school a day in his life. His wife taught him. She was an invalid and at no time presided at the White House. Her two daughters assumed that responsibility.

When we entered east Tennessee we found the land flowing with milk and honey. The rich valleys were filled with supplies of all kinds needed by the army. We found as fine corn there as was ever raised in Illinois perfectly matured.

The dishonest cavalry quartermasters reveled in their surroundings. When detachments or scouting parties were on the march they fed wherever they happened to strike a cornfield. Sometimes receipts were given and often not given for the supplies. Frequently the owner was not around. We never asked permission to feed. The cavalry quartermasters were entitled each month to forage in proportion to the number of animals on their

requisition. If they did not distribute full supplies they had a margin. Those authorized to issue vouchers for horses, forage or other supplies, who were dishonest, did not hesitate to do so for the supplies they did not furnish. By an arrangement with a dishonest paymaster they took their vouchers to him and got the cash, always allowing the paymaster a generous discount. After the siege of Knoxville four of these dishonest quartermasters ordered a bird supper from the north, for which each paid $100.

I personally knew two of them. One from dissipation dropped dead in the streets of Springfield, Illinois, after the war. His mother wrote me, asking me to assist her in getting a pension because of "her son's service to his country." I could not aid her. The money he took from the government and squandered in a short time would have kept her in affluence the remainder of her days. The other man before the war was a member of a church, a choir leader and an all-round good citizen. After the war when he would hear of a stranger coming to his home village he would hide. He was continually expecting to be arrested by a government detective for defrauding the government. He died in the gutter, disgraced and dishonored. "The wages of sin is death."

After a long and weary march one day with nothing to eat, I looked in the distance and saw a cow tethered near a small home. I rode up and found a lonely woman, the only occupant. The advancing and retreating of both armies back and forth in east Tennessee had swept the country of everything and left it barren. I asked the occupant of the house if she could let me have something to eat. She replied she could give me only cold corn bread and milk. I wished nothing better. I never enjoyed a meal with greater relish. In a home when I called for a meal I made it a rule to pay a dollar for it. I asked the kind woman which she preferred, greenbacks or Confederate money. "Always Confederate money," she said. I handed her a $5 Confederate bill. She did not wish to take it because she had no change. I said to

her that I was perfectly satisfied if she was. I had a feast "fit for the gods."

After the Cherokee Indian raid in February, 1864, one evening when it was time to go into camp, we came to a beautiful grove and decided to occupy it for the night. While we were viewing the situation the owner appeared and made a pathetic appeal for us not to occupy the grove, saying a much better place to camp was a mile beyond. We camped in the grove, however, and soon discovered why the owner did not care to have us do so. We found deposited in a pit, covered over carefully, about 100 bushels of wheat, one of the articles or rations at that particular time of which we were greatly in need. The wheat was soon ground into flour in a near-by mill, and our boys greatly enjoyed the flapjacks made from it. We gave a receipt for the wheat. If the owner was a loyal man no doubt the government paid him a good price for it.

At that time the greater portion of our cavalry was in Kentucky. Major Davidson was in command of the brigade, I serving as his adjutant general, Major Quigg commanding the Fourteenth and Lieut. Moore the battery.

The east Tennessee campaign was splendid in its success and in its results. Many of the Union men had left their homes and joined our army. Their families during their absence had been abused, robbed and plundered. Most savage atrocities had been perpetrated upon them. They passed through a furnace of fire. Finally relief came to them.

The departure of Longstreet's demoralizing command, beaten at every point, with petty jealousies between the chief and his subordinate officers, were signals for Union cheering. The flower of the rebel army was powerless to secure a foothold in this loyal region. It retired sullenly under the command of its great chieftain, who was chagrined and disappointed with his work in east Tennessee. As early as Dec. 30 he wrote to Richmond:

"I regret to say that a combination of circumstances has so operated during the campaign in East Tennessee as to prevent the complete destruction of the enemy's forces in this part of the state. It is fair to infer that the fault is entirely with me, and I desire, therefore, that some other commander be tried."

At Richmond they declined to relieve him. For disobedience of orders Gen. Longstreet wished to court martial Generals Robertson, McLaws and others, but his superiors at Richmond insisted he had no authority to convene the courts, and they declined to encourage him in his charges. He had fought in every great battle in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Georgia and Tennessee. His great services entitled him to some consideration. He did right in asking to be relieved.

When in New Orleans last winter a gentleman and his family had rooms next to us. He was born there. His father before the war owned several cotton plantations, 700 slaves and other valuable property. He pointed out to me an elegant home his father had built and occupied with his family before the war. The father was financially ruined and died broken hearted. After the war Gen. Grant favored Gen. Longstreet and aided him when he could. New Orleans at this time had only negro police under the command of Gen. Longstreet. They were unpopular with the whites and war developed. Longstreet with his several hundred police took a position behind barricades. The citizens attacked them furiously, killing and wounding a large number.

The day the attack was made, the native mentioned above informed me he aimed deliberately three times at Longstreet and shot at him, but missed him each time. Before that the native supposed he was a dead shot. Negro police have not done duty in New Orleans since this occurrence.

While serving as inspector general, Gen. Ammen was my superior officer. His headquarters were at Knoxville.

In the summer of 1864, Gen. Wheeler with his strong cavalry command, came into east Tennessee to tear up things generally. Our cavalry was in Georgia, busy with the army on its way to Atlanta. Gen. Ammen directed me to improvise a squadron for the purpose of watching Gen. Wheeler. With this view about 100 heavy artillerymen were mounted on horses taken from the quartermaster's corral. Our special point was to keep Wheeler from burning the Loudon bridge, recently rebuilt. We had a number of interesting adventures and escapes. We made full reports to Gen. Ammen, who remained at Loudon. He appreciated fully our work and was afterwards especially kind. In his genial moments he was a delightful companion. Some instances in his military life he talked about with great freedom.

In 1861-62 the Chicago Times was furious in its opposition to the war. An order was issued for its suppression, and Gen. Ammen had charge of its execution. The excitement in Chicago at this time was great, and many of the loyal people were fearful of retaliation and mob rule. At their solicitation President Lincoln revoked the order.

At this Gen. Ammen felt humiliated. He always insisted that the crisis had passed when the order was revoked and that no trouble would have resulted. He had his military force well in hand and had taken the precaution to place it where he could hurl it at the mob if necessary.

The other incident about which he talked was Gen. Buell's arrival at Pittsburg Landing the night of the first day's fight. Gen. Buell had been criticized for being tardy in advancing to Gen. Grant's relief, but Gen. Ammen insisted that the charge did Gen. Buell gross injustice. Gen. Ammen commanded the advance brigade on the march on the 6th of April, 1862. He said if anybody was to blame he was the man. He insisted that Gen. Buell went to Gen. Grant's relief as promptly as was possible, and that being able to participate in the next day's fight on the 7th saved the Union army from an

inglorious defeat, and that instead of being criticized and censured, Gen. Buell should be applauded by his loyal countrymen.

In his quiet moments Gen. Ammen was as kind and gentle as an amiable woman. When aroused he was a lion in his rage. Around Madisonville at that time hovered a good many disloyal people, who gave the enemy information of our movements. Some of these were arrested, taken to Loudon and imprisoned. The guards conducted them to headquarters for examination. At his request we assisted Gen. Ammen in this work.

Once a judge of high repute in his locality was arrested. In his examination Gen. Ammen and myself were alone with the judge, and after a time I left the room. The general came out and asked me to return and labor with the judge. While talking to the latter the general came in and stretched himself at full length on a lounge, lying on his back, but taking no part in the talk. The judge made a remark that irritated the general. Like a tiger from his lair he sprang from the couch. He poured upon the judge volleys of denunciation; it was a torrent, an avalanche of invective. Gen. Ammen with other things told the judge he would place him at hard labor on the fortifications then being built, attach a ball and chain to him and feed him on bread and water.

The judge wilted. He cried like a child. After his impassioned outburst, and the general had grown calm, we discussed what was best to do with the judge. We advocated kind treatment, with permission to return to his family on his parole of honor. To this the general readily assented. The judge went home, and was never again reported for disloyalty, so far as we know.

Gen. Ammen seemed to be feeble and lacking in physical power. Mentally he was strong and full of resources. He was unassuming, and had many traits of true nobility. He died about fifteen years ago. Peace to the memory of the gallant old soldier and true-hearted citizen. Like Gen. Thomas, he was a Virginian by birth, and loyal to the core.

SOLDIERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION WHO ARE BURIED IN ILLINOIS.

Mrs. E. S. Walker.

HEROES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

When the record of Revolutionary soldiers buried in Sangamon, Madison, and other counties was published in previous issues of the *Journal,* it was not claimed that the record was complete, only names of those whose military service had been verified were given.

It has been ascertained that one more name can be added to the Tablet erected in Sangamon county in memory of Revolutionary soldiers once residents of the county.

Sangamon county is entitled to the name of

BAZEL, or BARZILLA CLARK,

who was born in Pennsylvania in 1750; he was married in 1773 to Nancy ———, who endured peculiar hardships during the war, being confined in a fort where for two weeks she subsisted on parched corn and water. Bazel Clark acted as private in Pennsylvania Militia, Washington county, Penna. They came to Sangamon county in 1821, settling in Salisbury township, where he died Sept. 24, 1840.

Madison county has one more name to add,

ABSALOM BAKER

was a native of North Carolina where he enlisted in May, 1775, under Capt. John Brannon, serving until 1781. He was in the battles of Stono and Bacon's (Biggin's) Bridge; was taken prisoner at the Siege of Charleston

and held thirty days; was in Buford's defeat; the battle of Ramsour's Mills; Sumter's defeat at Hanging Rock; was wounded in the battle of Gates' defeat near Camden; and was in the battle of King's Mountain, Monk's Corner, Guilford Court House ,and Eutaw Springs. A remarkable record for one man. He came to Illinois in 1824, settling in Sangamon county, but removed to Madison county where he died in 1833.

Warren county has one name to add; that of

James Meadows.

who was born in Virginia in 1750; while a young man he went to North Carolina to reside and entered the service from that state. He served until the close of the war. In 1794 he removed to Kentucky, and in 1832 came to Illinois to reside, settling in Warren county. His grave in the Meridan cemetery was marked by the Puritan and Cavalier Chapter D. A. R. of Monmouth.

MENARD COUNTY.

Lewis Ferguson,

a native of Virginia, born in 1760, enlisted in Culpeper county in 1778, serving until 1780. He was first a private but was promoted to a Lieutenant under Capt. Garland Burrly; Col. Francis Taylor. He died in Menard county in 1842. Was pensioned.

James Thomas

was born in Maryland in 1750; enlisted in 1776 serving six years as a private in Captains David Hopkins and David Plunkett's companies; Col. Stephen Maylan, in 4th Continental Dragoons. He was wounded in the battles of Germantown and Savannah, was also in the battles of Brandywine, Monmouth and the Siege of Yorktown. After the war he removed to Indiana, coming to Illinois he resided in Menard county, where he died in 1833.

Benjamin Walker

was born in Pennsylvania in 1758, and died in Menard county in 1847. He served at various times in the Pennsylvania troops from June 1, 1776, to March, 1779. He was given a pension. He died in Menard county, Ills.

Joshua Short

was born in Virginia about 1752; he enlisted in 1776, serving until 1778 in the Virginia troops. At the close of the war he removed to Kentucky and in 1825 came to Illinois, settling near Springfield. Joshua Short was one of the aged men who rode in a canoe, mounted on wheels and rigged as a ship, in the procession at the Whig gathering in 1840. He removed to Menard county, where he died two years later.

GREENE COUNTY.

Michael M. Baker

was born in 1753 in Borough of Southwark, London, England, coming to America in 1773. He early espoused the cause of the new country, and enlisted in 1779 in Major Frederick Vernon's company, Col. David Broadherdin Pennsylvania troops, serving as Sergeant. He removed to Ohio and later to Greene county, Illinois, where he died in 1831.

Allen J. Bridges

was a native of Wake county North Carolina; born in 1756, and died in Greene county, Ills., 1846. He enlisted in Rowan county and served seven months as private in ———Alexander's company; Col. Joseph McDowell. He was in the battles of Ramsour and Salisbury. He married in Greene county, Elizabeth Irwin, and she drew a pension after the death of her husband.

John Clark

was born in 1765, in Lancaster county Pennsylvania, and died in Greene county, Illinois, Sept. 13, 1844. He served from 1778 to the close of the war, enlisting three different times, serving under Captains Timothy Downing, Samuel Teeters, and again under Timothy Downing, Colonels Williamson and Crawford, in Virginia line of troops. He was in battle with Indians at the time Col. Crawford was captured.

Jesse Conway

was a native of Virginia, enlisting at Reed Island in 1777 for eighteen months, again in 1779 for sixteen months, serving under Captains William Buchanan and Isaac Riddle, with —— Boon and —— Bowman as Colonels. He was born in 1761, and died in Greene county, Illinois, in 1840.

James Garrison

was born near Frederickstown, Penn., in 1747; he enlisted at Wilkes county, North Carolina, in 1775, for three months, under Capt. John Hamlin; Col. Benjamin Cleaveland; enlisted again in 1781, with Capt. Alexander Gordon; Col. Joseph McDowell. He was engaged in the battles of Cross Creek, the surrender of ninety-six, and the battle of Eutaw. He received a pension in 1833 while a resident of Greene county, Illinois, where he died.

Adonijah Griswold

was born at New Milford, Conn., 1758; he entered the service in Vermont under Capt. —— Barnum and Major Gideon Brownson, in Vermont Militia; he served as a scout until 1778, when he was taken prisoner, carried to Quebec, and kept there until 1781. He died in Greene county, Illinois, Sept. 1, 1841. (From further investigation it is claimed that his record of service was not

sufficient. We give the benefit of the doubt and place his name on the list of Patriots.—Ed.)

John Hewitt

was born in 1761 in Brunswick county, Virginia; removed to North Carolina where he enlisted Aug., 1778; re-enlisted seven times, serving until 1781; was private and Sergeant under seven captains, viz.: —— Williams, —— Smith, —— McFarling, —— Moore, John Henderson, Nathan Goodye, —— White, ——Fuller and Col. —— Malmady. He was in the battles of Guilford Court House and Ramsour's Mill. He died in Greene county, Illinois, in 1848, and lies buried in that county.

Robert Lorton,

a soldier of the Revolutionary war, was born in Charlotte, Virginia, where he enlisted in 1776, and served two years as private in the 4th Virginia Regt., under Capt. John Morton and Col. Adam Stephen. He was in the battles of Trenton, Germantown and Brandywine; re-enlisted under Capt. —— Holcomb, serving six months. After the war he removed to Kentucky, and at an early date came to Illinois, first to Bond county, and later settled in Greene county, where he died in 1833. Robert Lorton was the founder of Lorton Prairie near Whitehall, where he lies buried.

Francis Miller

was born at Sea, Oct. 16, 1753, when his parents were on a voyage from Philadelphia to Charleston, South Carolina. They removed to Mecklenburg county, where Francis Miller enlisted in 1775 as private; he again enlisted and was made captain, serving three times as that officer in the Riflemen Rangers, with Robert Irwin as Colonel. He served until 1781, and was in the battles of Hanging Rock and Guilford Court House. He re-

moved to Greene county, Illinois, at an early date, and died there in 1843.

Jonah Scroggins

was born in 1763, in Brunswick county, Virginia; he enlisted in Butte county, North Carolina, in 1778, with Robert Temples as Captain and Charles Pinckney as Major; he re-enlisted three times under Captains Philip Taylor, Philip Thomas and John Whitley, and Major —— Dennis, and Major Robert Rayford. He died in Greene county, Illinois, in 1845.

Aaron Smith

was a native of North Carolina, born 1765; he enlisted in 1781, only serving thirty-four days, when he was shot through the thigh in the battle of Eutaw Springs. He served under Captains —— Moore and Michael Randolph, with Colonels —— Lytle and —— Lee. After the war he removed to Tennessee, and from there to Illinois, settling in Greene county. He died in March, 1841.

HISTORICAL RESEARCH.

Mrs. E. S. Walker, Ills. State Chairman D. A. R., Committee on "Historical Research."

The Committee on Historical Research and Preservation of Records, connected with the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution is actively engaged in a most interesting and important work.

The field work open to us in historical research is enormous in its possibilities. While there may not be so many valuable records in the State of Illinois in comparison with the older states in our Union, yet in many of our homes there are ancient documents in the handwriting of those who in an early day came to live within the boundary of this State. There may be unpublished diaries, memoirs, reminiscences and traditions, all testifying to the social and economic establishment of this State and nation. These documents will soon become indecipherable by age, and will thus be lost by neglect.

Our homes may become treasure houses of history. It will redound to the honor of the State of Illinois to preserve for all time to come authentic records of the historic past. The Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society is anxious to obtain such historical material and has repeatedly asked the aid and interest of members of the Society in obtaining it.

SUSAN SHORT MAY.

THE STORY OF HER ANCESTRY AND OF HER EARLY LIFE IN ILLINOIS.

The following narrative written by Mrs. Susan Short May, historian of the Rochelle Chapter, D. A. R., is an interesting study of the early days in our State.

My father, John Short, was born in Groton, now Ledyard, Connecticut, May 4th, 1800. His mother, Margaret Gates Hakes (or Haikes) was of Welch descent, his father, John Short, of Irish descent.

My mother was born in New York City in 1809, the ninth child, and the youngest of the family. Her father, Raymond Surre, was born in Lyons, France, in the year of Our Lord, 1751. "Departed this life March 14th, six o'clock P. M. Raymond Surre, aged sixty-three years, of an apoplectic fit, in which he lay but six hours." Her mother was Susan Dorothy Dabele, born in 1767 (in Westchester county or on Manhattan Island). She died in Bristol, Kendall county, Illinois, September 27th, 1841, " of bilious typhus fever," aged seventy-four years.

My father spent his youth and early manhood in Groton, Connecticut. His father was captain and master of a sailing vessel, sailing from Stonington or from New London, I do not know which. I have in my possession a letter written by him from Demarara (Dimmerara) October 20th, 1798, to his "Dear and Ever Loving Wife." In this letter he says, "We arrived here the first day of this month after a long passage of two months. Had I known we were coming here and to be gone so long, I would not have come, but the voyage was altered after we got to Keneback. We expect to sail from this place in a fortnight. We stop at Turk's Island for a load of salt. If we are not taken, expect to be home in January." The letter closes, "I remain yours till death parts us."

I have not been able to find a record of his death, but I think it must have been in 1804 or 1805. My grandmother married Col. Morgan, of Ledyard, Connecticut, and died in the Morgan home in 1859, her husband preceding her many years.

My father after his school days were over, served a long apprenticeship with a carpenter, and became a skilled mechanic. His wonderful chest of tools was a delight to my childish eyes; for, when he learned his trade, there was no milling work done, and all mouldings, panelings, and beadings, were made by hand. Because he was a skilled workman, he had opportunities to see many lands, going with contractors, if my memory serves me right. I have a letter written by him from Buenos Ayres, April 9th, 1826, to his "Honored Parents." In this letter he says, "With pleasure, I improve a few moments in writing to you by a British Brig bound to Rio Janiero with passengers, and from there to England. Some of the passengers, however, are bound to New York, and by them I expect you will receive this letter. There is an American brig here now, but where she is bound for from this port, I do not know. If she sails for the States, I shall probably write by her, for it is a great chance if you ever get this letter."

My father and mother were married on the third day of January, A. D. 1831, in New York City, "according to the usages of the Presbyterian church in the United States of America, by one R. Castel, Pastor of the Canal Street Presbyterian Church in the city of New York."

My mother was the widow of John K. Reaney, who was purser of the U. S. ship "Hornet" that was lost in the Gulf of Mexico. The date I do not know, but it must have been in or near 1827.

The motive which brought my father to Illinois was probably the spirit of adventure, and the particular spot where he took up his residence was probably decided by the circumstance that a number of New York city people, who had preceded him a few years, were settled near the

juncture of Blackberry creek and Fox river. This place was called Yorkville. It is now in Kendall county.

The first settlers in the territory now known as Kendall county were mostly from the states of Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia, with a few from South Carolina. They were of a roving disposition, remaining but a short time, and were succeeded by settlers from the east.

The Pottawatomie chief, Shabbona, and his friends, protected the whites from the hostile Indians, and while many buildings were burned, it is believed that no white man was killed by the Indians within the limits of this county. By the time father reached Yorkville, the Indians had disappeared, though stories of their deeds were still plentiful, and an Indian trail was clearly to be seen running through our farm. The only Indian that I ever saw was Shabbona's widow, who was grown old and fat, and was being transported about the country in a wagon.

My father came to Illinois in 1836, traveling by rail, canal, steamboat, stage and horseback. A detailed account of this journey he kept in a little diary, which I have in my possession.

At the juncture of Fox River and Blackberry creek he looked at "claims," and finally bought "Horatio Johnson's claim" for $425.00. At this time the land had not been surveyed and it was not till 1844 that he received his deed from the government. The records show that about this time, 1843-1844, he bought various pieces of land from different people, amounting in all to two hundred forty acres, and that he received from the government a deed for this amount of land in eighty acre tracts. Twenty years afterwards he sold the farm for forty-seven dollars an acre to a Mr. Palmer, whose son now owns it, and says that he would not put it on the market for two hundred fifty dollars an acre. The southwest part of the farm was prairie, the northwest, through which Blackberry creek runs, was timber, mostly hickory and oak.

Having bought this claim, and left one hundred fifty dollars to put in crops and build a cabin, father returned

to New York, by way of the Illinois, Mississippi and Ohio rivers.

The next year he returned with his family to find the cabin only half finished and barely habitable. The family which my father brought to their Illinois home consisted of my mother, my half sister, Mary Reany, my sister, Emeline, and a baby, Julia. They traveled by canal boat and stage, and were many weeks reaching Chicago. In Chicago my father bought horses and wagons and loaded one wagon with dry goods and groceries. I have heard my mother tell that they brought with them rice, tea, coffee, flour, salted meats, and loaf sugar, which meant great cones of hard sugar, weighing many pounds, all kinds of garden seeds, apple seeds and locust seeds. Besides provisions they also brought with them their best furniture, a three-ply ingrain carpet, a high post bedstead of some dark wood, parlor chairs of curled maple, and a very large mahogany bureau with brass handles, a looking glass in a gilt frame with acorn pendents across the top, and another mirror in mahogany frame, of all which treasures only a few pieces are now in my possession. More important than parlor furniture, however, were Dutch ovens, copper tea kettles, cranes, andirons, and other appliances for cooking in a primitive way, for the house into which mother must bring her household possessions was a log cabin without fire place and with a roughly laid floor. It took some time and cost many tears before mother could become adjusted to conditions in the "black walnut house," as father had described it to her. She had to cook out doors, until the fire place was constructed, and the smoking from the fire made tears flow still more freely. The children, too, would run away and be almost lost from sight in the tall prairie grass.

November 24th, 1837, my father wrote a letter to his half brother, William Morgan, which is in my possession. He says, "We are all enjoying good health and are well pleased with our situation. We arrived here on the 17th

of June, after a pleasant passage of one month and seven days, but I was much disappointed in not finding my crops put in according to agreement. My log cabin they built, and quite an indifferent one it was. I have, however, built me a frame house, which I convert this winter, the upper part for a grainery, the lower part for a shop to build my sled, sleigh, harrows, yokes, ploughs, etc., for I have concluded in my old age to turn farmer, which I think I can do as well as one-half of them here at any rate. They are generally a pretty poor set of farmers here. Many of them raise large crops and leave them to spoil in the fields, and you can not buy a pound of butter or cheese within forty miles, and then you have to pay from forty to fifty cents for butter not fit to eat, and from eighteen to twenty cents for cheese."

The frame house above referred to is still standing on the Palmer farm, and the heavy timbers, and hand made lath are among the objects of interest about the place.

I was born in 1839. In 1844, father rented the farm and built a small house in the village of Bristol, a mile away. Then he started a larger house which he was persuaded to turn into a tavern, for there was great need of a place for teamsters to stop. The business of keeping tavern was very hard on mother, with her increasing family, but she worked bravely, and everyone of us had to help her in some way. Meals were served at all hours of the day, and far into the night, for travelers on their way to Chicago or Ottawa had to start early in the morning and be on their way home late at night. The stage changed horses at our barn, and sometimes drivers, too. "Long John" Wentworth of Chicago, and Judge Caton and Judge Dickey of Ottawa were the only notables that I remember as our guests.

Part of the equipment of this old time hostelry was a brick oven and an ice house. Father built a fire in the oven, pulled out the ashes, and then mother baked her bread and pies. In the ice house she kept hams, which she had cured herself, sides of beef, butter and lard.

As soon as mother could spare my older sisters, she sent them to a private school in Chicago, kept by Misses Smith and Thatcher. Then my father decided to rent the tavern and move into Chicago where we could all have better school advantages. So we were loaded up in lumber wagons and started out.

Father had bought a cottage at 79 W. Monroe street. My sister Julia and I went to a public school on the south side, the principal of which was Mr. Ingalls. The second summer of our stay in Chicago, the cholera broke out, a disease that my father stood in great dread of, so that we at once packed up and moved back to Bristol.

Leaving Chicago did not disturb father much. He was confident that Chicago had no future. It would be impossible, he used to declare, to put up large buildings there like the buildings in New York, for Chicago was mostly swamp and no solid foundation could be secured.

He died in 1881, having lived to see some of the marvelous growth of the city of swamps, but no city was ever to him like New York.

Aside from lumber wagons, the only way of reaching Chicago or Ottawa was by the Frink and Walker stage line. The stage was of the old fashioned type, with boot at the rear for baggage. Baggage was also piled on top. It was drawn by four horses, and the horses were changed at Bristol at our tavern. As soon as the stage driver neared the village he blew his horn and cracked his whip, and then everyone who was on the stage route, if the weather was not too cold, ran to the front door, opened it, and watched the stage go by. The stage accommodated nine people, ten if one sat with the driver, and everyone watched to see who would alight.

The stage left our tavern early in the morning and my mother was a frequent passenger, for she had to get our groceries, and other supplies in Chicago or Ottawa.

The first school which I can remember attending was a tuition school, taught by a dear, lovable woman, probably not over twenty-five years of age, who we were permitted

to call "Aunt Polly." The school room was one room in her brother's house. The little children sat on a low bench without a back, which ran through the middle of the room. The older children had desks.

She taught both patriotism and history in rhyme. We sang:

"Before all lands in east or west,
I love my native land the best."

And we also sang, or rather intoned, the kings and queens of England:

"Plantagenets they in 54, to which prefix 11,
Just number sovereigns eight of yore
To war and conquest given."

The first teacher in Bristol was Rhoda Godard, who taught in 1844. The public school law was not in force till about 1848.

The first church built was a Congregational church. It was destitute of paint, both outside and in. The walls were ceiled, not plastered, and the room was heated with a box stove, which held great pieces of wood, so that the heat was not very evenly distributed. Afterwards this building was used for a school house, and here the first public school was taught in 1848.

The second church was Baptist, and one of its early pastors was the father of General Schofield, of civil war fame. I remember that there was a flutter among the girls, a few years older than I, when young Schofield was expected home from West Point.

Dr. Wheeler was the first physician that was employed in our family. He rode many miles on horse back, and carried his remedies and instruments in saddle bags. It was customary then to bleed people for various ailments. I remember seeing my mother bled many times, but no one else in our family. Quinine, calomel, rhubarb and castor oil were always at hand, and were used heroically in turn as the case seemed to require.

There were no nurses, no undertakers, no servants. Everyone helped her neighbor, and often rode many miles

to perform such offices as are now almost wholly in the hands of professionals. My mother was often called to administer to the sick and care for the dead.

The first Bristol post office that I can remember was in our living room in Bristol, in a small house which stood, and still stands, on the south side of the public square. The "office" was a home-made writing desk with lock and key, with a row of pigeon holes for papers over it. The letters, I think, were all kept inside the desk. My father was the postmaster, and he laid strict orders on us children, never, never, to go near that desk or touch one of the papers, and we never did, for his word was as much law unto us as Uncle Sam's to him.

My father held the position of postmaster only part of the time, but always, when we lived in Bristol, he was justice of the peace, with power of attorney, and his office for many years was our living room. If it were possible to settle a suit without cost, he always did so; whenever he performed a marriage ceremony, whatever the groom gave him he promptly turned over to the bride. For making out deeds and settling estates, he received the usual compensation.

One of the favorite amusements, when I was quite a little girl, was horseback riding. Our family brought with them from New York a very handsome side saddle. The young people of the town, men and women, gathered in the square and started off for a merry good time, but by the time I grew old enough to ride, the sport had ceased to be popular.

Card playing was not regarded as a respectable form of amusement until after the fifties. Dancing was indulged in a good deal by those not members of the church, and dancing often went on till daybreak, especially on Washington's birthday, or Fourth of July. The orchestra consisted usually of a bass viol and two violins.

Quilting parties were the vogue, the women working in the afternoon, and the men coming in to supper.

Our festive days were the Fourth of July and Washington's birthday. The Fourth of July celebration be-

gan very early in the morning with the firing of the anvil. About noon a procession was formed mostly of farm wagons and pedestrians, headed by one Col. Willet, carrying the flag. The Declaration of Independence was read, the Star Spangled Banner was sung, a big dinner was served either in the tavern or on the lawn, and everyone seemed to be happy in meeting his neighbor.

I remember well the year 1849, when the "gold fever" broke out, and everyone who could started out for California. Just west of our house was a place used commonly by the travelers as a camping ground, when night overtook them in our village. Often three or four wagons were assembled there. Most of these companies were very poorly equipped for the long journey before them. Mother often invited them into her house and gave them the privilege of using her cook stove to prepare the next day's food. Sometimes the wife was driving one team and the husband another. I can not recall one person who went from our village and returned with much gold. A few made their homes near San Francisco, and by farming or practicing a profession were able to make a fair living. But most of those who returned were sad sights, so that when anyone looked especially frazzled, he was said to look "like a returned Californian."

My father was an old line Whig. When that party was disrupted, after much reading and thinking he went over to the Democratic party, although he never was a great politician.

The Underground Railway had a station in Bristol. At. Mrs. Wheeler's I used to see clothing for men, women and children, kept in readiness when they should stop there on their way north to Canada. Once, on seeing a negro pass the house, I called to my father to "look"; he kept his eyes steadily on his paper, and told me to run into the kitchen. I did not understand why, but as usual did as I was bid without question.

Lincoln and Douglas! Who can ever write the story of that time? The Douglas Invincibles, with their torches

and banners. The Lincoln Wide Awakes, with theirs; the speeches; the crowds, the processions, and many times, the drunken rabbles. These were in the foreground of those stirring times.

I heard Douglas in Chicago, and I heard Gen. U. F. Linder address the Invincibles, but Lincoln, I never saw or heard.

Then came the civil war, with all its horrors and heartaches. The women worked together scraping lint from old linens, and preparing boxes and boxes full of things for use in the hospital or for the comfort of the soldiers in the field. My mother's specialty in the way of provisions was pickled eggs. Party lines and church lines were forgotten and all worked together for the good of the soldiers. Most of the soldiers were very young, led into the army many times by the lure of martial music and brass buttons.

If you heard of any poor fellow who didn't seem to have anyone to think about him, you sent him books and papers and letters, whether you knew him or not.

Every unmarried woman had a large war correspondence. When the boys came home on a furlough there was great rejoicing, and when they were sent home sick, they were given every attention.

We were all glad when the "cruel war" was over. Illinois gave many of her sons, and for a time mourning was in our fair state.

Now we are so prosperous that the younger generations can not conceive what the older generations had to contend with, yet as I look back I think we were just as happy then as now, so I close this, wishing our country continued prosperity and trusting that love of home and country may continue to be instilled into the young.

I respectfully submit this narrative.

Susan Short May, (31379)
Historian, Rochelle Chapter D. A. R.

February, 1913.

A LETTER WRITTEN BY WILLIAM BIGGS, ESQ.

[The *Journal is* indebted to the courtesy of Mr. James B. Laux, of 152 West 131st street, New York City, for a copy of the subjoined letter of William Biggs. Mr. Laux is making an exhaustive search for descendents of Wm. Biggs, and information that may aid him in writing a history of the Biggs family. In the course of his inquiries this autograph letter was discovered among the Draper collection of manuscripts in the archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society, where it is now preserved. Readers of the *Journal* who may know—or know of—any of the descendents of Wm. Biggs, or are in possession of any facts relating to that family, will confer a great favor by communicating the same to Mr. Laux, at the above address.]

(Draper Mss. 5NN18-20)

Illinois Grandrusau May 28th 1789.

Dear Brother

I am happy with this opportunity to Communicate to you Concenring my Preasent and past surcomstance, I have bin Very Unfortunate since I left that Country in Regard of losses and Crosses and to help fill up my Misfortunes was taking Prisoner by the Indians on the 27th of March 1789 as I was Riding the Roade frome Bellfontain to Cahokia. It happened about five miles frome home the shot fore balls into my horses boddy which frighted and startled the horse my saddle not being girted nor Cruppered Which the horse threw me with the Saddle to the ground; but I still held fast by the horses Maine for about thirty passes and in the meantime made several Etempts to back him but all was in vaine, the horse Run about six hundred yards then fell

dead, by the time I had Recouvered the fall of the horse the Indians was within fifteen steps of me I Run about foure hundred yards before the catched me and I belive I should a cleared ought frome them if I had not bin so heavy Cloathed. There was another young man with me at the same time the Name of John Vallies which got wounded but Cleared himself and horse frome the Indians he lived about six weaks and then Died in his wounds. Tho throw the kind marceys of God my time was not long with them. There was Seven Indians in the Party that took me foure Kikapoues and three Weautonaues. The tooke me to the old Weaues town on the banks of the Waubaush about foure hundred and fifty miles from its mouth and it is about two hundred and fifty Miles frome the Illinoise or Bellfountain. I was but three weaks in thare Coustidy of the savage I then made Intrest with a french trader that was at that town for Creadit and got goods and Purchased myself from the savage my Price was one hundred and seven bucks or dollars then continued three weaks longer at the same town before an opportunity offered for my jurney. I then Proceeded on toward home by the way of the Opost, and the Expiration of my being frome home was ten weaks. On my jurney home I met with two men at the Opost which give me grate happyness to se the was on their way home to Kaintuckey. The had gest bin delivred by the kind hand of Providance out of the same dangers and Unhappy state that I had been in the Arived two days after me the had been taken on the Ohio River at the Mouth of Meamia three days before I was taaken, the Run away frome the Indians and got lost in the Woods the was forteen dayes before the got into the Opost, and jureing that time had nothing to Eate but one small fish the found throwed upon the Bank of a Creek and Eight turkey Eggs them the had to Eate Raw by Reason the had no Armes nor fire works with them one of them was of the Name of James Gray he was once a soldyer in your

Copy. he Informed me you had been to Philadelphia in order to Recouver Mothers Estate abd that you had Recoeivd. the grater Part and in a likely way to get the whole, it would give me grate sattissfaction if you would Wright me what success you made in the Etempt. I have wrote two diffrent times Very Particular Concearning Mr. Thos. Stoakleys Contract and mine after the accident and losses his flower met with a coming down thare was not more then fifteen or sixteen Pounds Coming to him at the Rates floure sold at her and agreable to our Contract the Acount is got misslaid and Cant be found at Preasent is the Reason I cant be more Perticular in the Sume due to him, but if you Never have Receivd. my letters Wright to me by the first opportunity Whether it is settled or no and how the Matter stands between you and him and the Rest of my Creaditors, and if I dont Come up myself by the assistance of the Almighty God I will Endeavor to send you something for sattisfaction and give you more Perticular accounts then I Can at Preasant. The Indians still Continues some little troublesome in this Country so that the keep us in forts. Thare is now at this time forty men Come frome kaintucky and the settlements of Virginia on purpose to Exsplore this Country the like the Cluntry so well that the are allmost Determined when the go back to bring their famelies Emeadiely tho no Encouragement as yet frome Congrass tho the Expect to make a Purchase and Come in a large boddy we Expect General St. Clear here this sumer who is apointed Govenr for this Country Colonl. Morgan has made a settlement on the Spanish Shore Twentyfive leagues below the Mouth of Ohio. I have not Receivd aney letters frome you or the famely since that by Jno. Walker. I do Earnestly Pray you would not neglect the Oppertuniteys wrighting for it is all the Comforts and Sattisfaction of our friend and Realations at such along disstance, I shall miss none. I Refer you to Mothers letter for farther sattisfaction. I have lost my son and

all the son I had tho I hope his sole is in Everlasting happiness, so I Conclude with the Blessings of God myself and the Rest of my famely is in a good state of health at Preasent and I hope you and the famely is Well.

I am Dr. Sir your Affectinet Brother.

Wm. Biggs.

N. B. Your two brothers and Sister here and her famely is well and desires to be Remembered to you and the famely.

Addressed: Mr. Benjan. Biggs, Living in Ohio County Virga. near Westliberty W. B.

Hon^{d}. by

Mr. Jno. Rowling

[Note—Wm. Biggs was born in Maryland in 1755. At the age of 22 he enlisted in the force raised by Col. George Rogers Clark for conquest of the Illinois, and was elected a lieutenant of his company. After expiration of his military service he returned to Virginia, married there, and engaged in farming. In 1784, with his family, two brothers, and several of his former military comrades, he came back to Illinois, and settled near Bellefontaine, in Monroe county. His ability was recognized by Gov. St. Clair, who appointed him the first sheriff of St. Clair county. Subsequently he was twice elected to represent Illinois territory in the territorial legislature at Vincennes. In 1812 he was elected to represent St. Clair county in the legislative council, or Senate, and was re-elected in 1814. In 1808 he was elected "Justice of the Peace and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas," in which capacity he served for several years.

He was captured by the Kickapoo Indians when on the way from his home to Cahokia, on the 28th of March, 1788, and taken by them to the upper waters of the Wabash. The account of his capture, captive life, and final release by paying a heavy ransom, dictated by himself 38 years later, was published in full in the *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year

1902. The above letter to his brother has peculiar interest because written by himself but a short time after his release from the Indians. The "Grandrusau" from which it is dated, was Piggott's blockhouse fort, a mile and a half west of the present town Columbia, in Monroe county, and was situated on a small stream known to the French settlers of the American Bottom as Le Grand Ruisseau. Mr. Biggs died in 1827.]

PIONEER HISTORY OF PALESTINE ASSOCIATION OF REGULAR BAPTISTS.

By Charles S. Goff.

The first Baptists who came to this part of the Illinois Territory helped build, and for a while lived in old Fort Lamotte, just southeast of the present site of Palestine, Illinois. This was the first permanent settlement on the east side of the territory and took place in the years 1810-12. Others of that little band of settlers were Methodists, at least their immediate descendants were.

Many of the early settlers on the Indiana side were Baptists, too.

These Baptist pioneers followed the Apostolic custom of organizing a church wherever practicable. Hence at this time there were a few small churches in the Indiana Territory along the Wabash river.

On Friday, July 7, 1809, messengers from five churches met at the "town of Columbia, on Patoka, Knox county, Indiana Territory," for the purpose of organizing the Wabash District Association. It was composed of the following churches originally: Wabash, Bethel, Patoka, Salem, and Marra Creek, all of which were in or around Knox county, Indiana Territory

Two men whose names are dear to Baptists on this side of the Wabash were messengers to this meeeting. They were Isaac McCoy, of Wabash church, and Stephen Kennedy, of Patoka church. McCoy afterwards became a missionary to the Indians and Kennedy became one of best pioneer preachers of Palestine Association.

The body drafted a constitution and rules of decorum similar to those of Union and Palestine associations at present.

When the Lamotte church was organized in 1812, it became a member of the Wabash District Association. This church on the southern edge of Lamotte prairie and Little Village organized near Russelville in 1817, both by members lettered from Marra Creek church, were the only churches in the present limits of the Association at that time. All the Baptist churches on this side of the river belonged to the Wabash District Association prior to its division over the "anti-mission issue" in 1823.

Lamotte, Little Village, Livingston, Darwin and Shiloh, near Bridgeport, Lawrence county, were the only Baptist churches in this part of the State prior to the early forties.

In 1819 Daniel Parker began preaching the "anti-mission" and "two-seed" doctrine in the Wabash District Association. This locality in southeastern Crawford and northeastern Lawrence counties, is the birthplace of this doctrine and Daniel Parker was its progenitor. He was a member of Lamotte church, hence that church bore the brunt of the conflict.

The movement sprang up independently in three different parts of the United States, and it is doubtful if one leader knew of the others. Rev. Daniel Parker preached it in the Lamotte church and Wabash District Association in 1819, a Rev. Mr. Jones in the Illinois Association near St. Louis in 1824, and the Rev. Joshua Lawrence in the Kehukee Association in North Carolina in 1827.

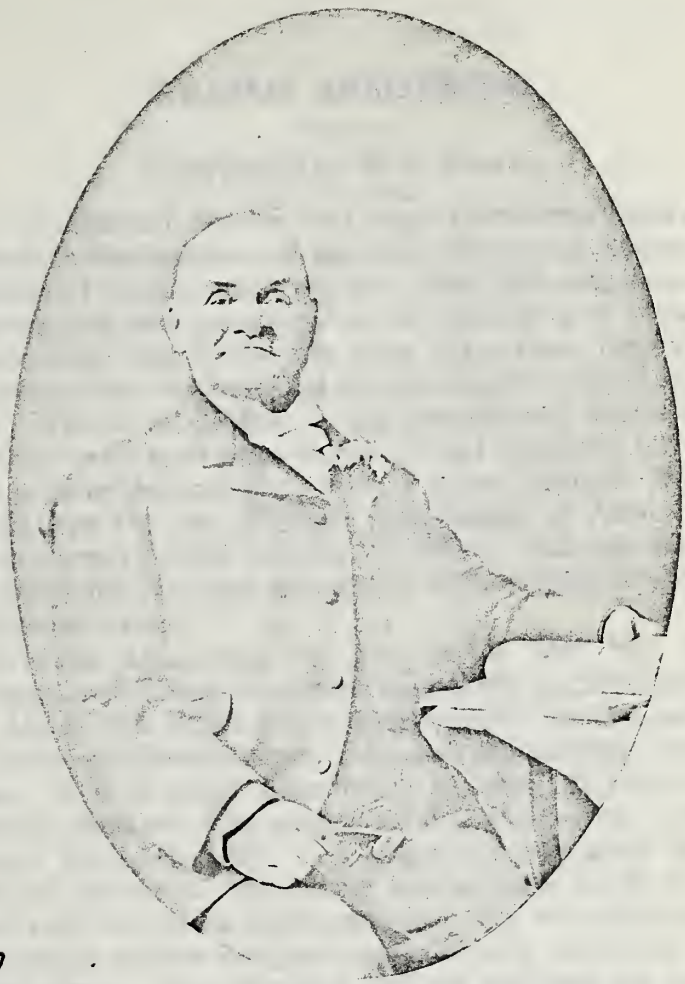
When the Wabash District Association divided over the issue in 1823, seven of its twelve churches organized Union Association in Indiana, and the other five stayed with the Wabash which remained "anti-mission." Two of this five were Lamotte and Little Village, the others were in Indiana.

Prior to this division the Wabash District Association had been a missionary body. The year that Daniel Parker came from Kentucky here, 1817, it put on record the following statement: "This Association has received with pleasure the circular of the Board of Foreign Mis-

sions, and is highly pleased with the information derived therefrom." In 1815 it had appointed Rev. Isaac McCoy corresponding secretary, to correspond with the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. In 1817 he had an appointment of some kind from the board. Daniel Parker became jealous of the influence of McCoy in missionary work, and when the latter began his work among the Indians, Parker, who coveted the appointment, began venting his spleen by opposing missions.

Little Village church, under Daniel Parker's influence, went bodily with the "Parkerites," as the "anti-mission" brethren were called, and in 1827 Lamotte church was divided.

In the fall of 1841 messengers from six Illinois churches met with the missionary Lamotte church and organized the present Palestine Association, Friday, Oct. 15, of that year. It still exists in Crawford and adjoining counties.



William Armstrong.

WILLIAM ARMSTRONG.

Contributed by W. T. Norton.

It is meet and seemly that some permanent record be placed in the archives of the State Historical Society of citizens of Illinois who have been identified with its early history and been prominent in the upbuilding of the commonwealth, that those who come after them may know to whom they are indebted for the benefits they now enjoy. We are all debtors to the honored and useful lives of those who have gone before us and prepared the way for coming generations. One of these pioneers of progress was the late William Armstrong, of Alton, who passed away on the 2nd day of March, 1902, leaving behind him the fragrant memory of a life of good deeds and righteous living.

William Armstrong was the son of Mr. and Mrs. George Armstrong, who were among the earliest settlers of Alton. His father was of English birth and his mother a native of Pennsylvania. His was an honored parentage. It is a great inheritance to come of noble and worthy lineage. The subject of this sketch was born in Alton April 5th, 1843. His entire life was spent in the city of his birth. His career was an open book, known and read by all his fellow citizens. He was educated in the public schools and early entered upon an active business career. His education did not end with his school days. He was a man of fine natural abilities and had a thirst for knowledge. A student all his life, his range of reading was wide and varied. He took special interest in economic and financial affairs and their relation to business conditions. An entertaining conversationalist he had also a natural gift for oratory. Often called upon to address public assemblies he was listened to with interest

and profit, being clear and logical in expressing his views on almost any topic that engaged the attention of his fellow men. He was a friend of education and he favored all projects to raise the public standard of morals and enlightenment. Illustrative of his interest in these questions were his efforts to establish and maintain the Piasa Bluffs Chautauqua, of which association he was a director for many years.

Although not seeking public office, Mr. Armstrong was, for several terms, a member of the city council, giving his time and labors in unstinted measure to the upbuilding of the city of his birth and loyal affection. He also served as a member of various public commissions, attended conventions at Washington and elsewhere in the interest of river improvement of which he was a warm advocate. Prominent as a manufacturer and business man, he also devoted much time to scientific horticulture and floriculture on his beautiful estate in the suburbs of the city.

Mr. Armstrong was a life-long opponent of slavery, even in days when to express sentiments adverse to the "divine institution" was to invite ostracism and loss of business patronage. He imbibed strong anti-slavery sentiments from his mother in early childhood and carried his principles fearlessly into manhood. He was a devoted admirer of the career of the heroic anti-slavery martyr, Elijah P. Lovejoy, and was indefatigable, for many years in efforts to interest the people in the erection of a suitable memorial in honor of the hero's devotion and sacrifice. At length his efforts and those of his associates in that worthy cause were crowned with success. He was vice president of the association which, through the generosity of the State of Illinois and citizens of Alton, erected the splendid monument in the city cemetery which has become a Mecca to pilgrims from all over the land. He turned the first spadeful of earth on the site of the monument and watched its progress from foundation stone to the winged statue of Victory which

crowns its apex. When he was himself laid to rest in the same cemetery the directors of the association were his honorary pall bearers.

In religious views Mr. Armstrong was an adherent of the Methodist denomination, an almost life-long member of that church, a liberal contributor to its benevolences and a faithful supporter of its ordinances; a kind neighbor, a devoted husband and father and a generous friend of the poor and needy. The great throng which attended his obsequies attested the public appreciation of his worth. His fellow citizens were poorer for his death, but the example of his life survives and remains a stimulus to high endeavor. The lesson of his life will long be cherished in loving memory—not only by those nearest and dearest by the ties of kindred and friendship, but by the whole community.

Mr. Armstrong was peculiarly happy in his domestic relations. He was married in 1867 to Mary E. Parker who survived him until September 11, 1911. He also left a daughter, Miss. Mary U. Armstrong, and two sons, Prof. W. D and Paul D. Armstrong. The Armstrong family has been distinguished through generations for its musical talent. Miss Katherine, a sister of William, was for many years the head of the musical department of Monticello seminary, and the older son, Prof. W. D. Armstrong, has won an international reputation as a musician and composer. He is also the head of the famous Armstrong School of Music in Alton.

The last days of William Armstrong were fraught with suffering and weariness. He became a victim of a throat trouble which prostrated him for months before the end came. He died in Chicago while under treatment for his grievous malady. Throughout his long illness he was brave and patient, sustained by an unfaltering trust in the Almighty arm. When he knew he was dying his last words to his loving wife were: "It is all right." And thus entered fearlessly the valley of shadows.

FIFTY-FIVE YEARS AGO.

THE ILLINOIS LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

From Alton Daily Courier of June 4, 1858.

The regular monthly (for May) meeting of this society was held at the hall of the Illinois Mutual Fire Insurance Company, in Middletown, on Wednesday afternoon, 26th ult. We are indebted to Mr. John Atwood, the obliging secretary of the society, for a sketch of the proceeding of the meeting.

Dr. N. N. Wood, corresponding secretary, read letters from Messrs. Benj. Richardson, editor of the Historical Magazine, and Charles B. Norton. The latter was chosen actuary on certain terms proposed in his letter.

On motion of W. C. Flagg, the secretary was instructed to subscribe for ten copies of the Historical Magazine, published in New York, for the use of this society.

Sundry bills were read and referred to the Finance Committee. The names of a number of persons were proposed for membership—these lie over under the rules.

Mr. M. G. Atwood read a very interesting article entitled "Governors of Illinois," which was ordered to be filed.

In the course of a discussion which ensued it was stated that Madison county once embraced the site where Chicago now stands; and that when Randolph was first erected into a county, it included the whole State of Illinois and was then a county of Virginia.[1]

[1] The member was in error when he stated that Randolph county when erected included the whole of the present State of Illinois. St. Clair was erected April 27, 1790, and Knox, June 30 of same year, as counties of the Northwest Territory. Randolph was set off Oct. 5, 1795, as a separate county of the Northwest Territory, from the southwest corner of St. Clair and bordered on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. Its boundaries were changed several times thereafter, but never included more than a fraction of what is now Southern Illinois.

Mr. Flagg informed the society that at the recent sale of the effects of the late Dr. Peck he purchased a copy of the Laws of Louisiana, which was printed in St. Louis, Mo., in the year 1808.

On motion it was voted that Lewis Kellenberger, Esq., be requested to communicate to the society all the facts in his possession relative to the earthquake at New Madrid, Mo., in the year 1811.

On motion a committee of five, consisting of Messrs. M. G. Atwood, N. N. Wood, J. R. Woods, W. C. Flagg and Lewis Kellenberger, was appointed to take measures for procuring a meeting of the old settlers of the country (county?) and report.

Mr. W. C. Flagg was authorized and requested to secure and preserve all the books, papers and other documents that now belong or may be donated to the society by the State government or the officials at Springfield.

The society adjourned to meet on the fifth Wednesday of June, at two o'clock in the afternoon.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

JOURNAL OF
THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Published Quarterly by the Society at Springfield, Illinois.
JESSIE PALMER WEBER, Editor-in-Chief.

Associate Editors

J. H. Burnham	H. W. Clendenin	Andrew Russel
Wm. A. Meese	George W. Smith	Edward C. Page

Applications for Membership in the Society may be sent to the Secretary of the Society, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Ill.

Membership Fee, One Dollar, Paid Annually. *Life Membership, $25.*

VOL. VI. APRIL, 1913. No. I.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, CAPITOL BUILDING, SPRINGFIELD, ILL., THURSDAY AND FRIDAY, MAY 15-16, 1913.

The annual meeting of the Historical Society will be held on Thursday and Friday, May 15-16, 1913, in the State House, at Springfield.

The annual address will be presented by Mr. George A. Lawrence, of Galesburg. The subject of Mr. Lawrence's address is Benjamin Lundy, the pioneer anti-slavery agitator of Illinois. Few of the citizens of today realize the work of Benjamin Lundy or know that he became a citizen of Illinois, published a newspaper at Hennepin and is buried in this State.

Mr. Lawrence's address will be given on Thursday evening. The society will not hold its business session the first morning of the meeting but will hold it on the morning of the second day, Friday morning, at which time reports of officers and committees will be read, officers elected and other business will be presented. The change has been made on account of the fact that mem-

bers of the society who are teachers in the schools can not easily be away from home for two days and Friday being the most convenient day for them has been selected as the time for holding the annual business meeting of the society. A meeting of the Board of Directors and of some committees will be held on Thursday morning, but no general meeting of the society will be held.

The literary sessions will begin on Thursday afternoon. Papers will be presented relating to the history of the religious denominations of the State.

This will be one of the principal features of the annual meeting. Addresses will be made on the Roman Catholic church by Rev. James Howard of Springfield; on the Baptist church by W. C. McNaull of Chicago; the Methodist church by Rev. John M. Ryan of Pontiac; on the Presbyterian church by Rev. H. D. Jenkins of Riverside, on the Christian church or Disciples of Christ by Rev. N. S. Haynes of Decatur. These gentlemen are all special students of the history of the churches mentioned, and it is believed that the papers presented will be of much interest, and it is certain that they will form a valuable addition to the ecclesiastical and denominational history of the State. It is hoped that the members of the society will avail themselves of this exceptional opportunity to hear these historical addresses.

April 23, 1913, is the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Stephen A. Douglas and it is fitting that an address on this great American statesman be given at the annual meeting. The life and career of Douglas is of interest to every one, and many students have given special attention to the study of his character and achievements.

Among these Douglas students no one has devoted more time, attention and painstaking research to the subject than has Frank E. Stevens of Dixon, Illinois. Mr. Stevens is the author of the most complete and authoritative history of the Black Hawk war, and he has contributed valuable articles on historical subjects to the

columns of the transactions of the Historical Society and to the Journal, among the more notable of these being his account of the part taken by the frontier territory of Illinois in the war of 1812-1814, his sketch of the life of A. P. Field, and his recent contribution to the Journal of October, 1912, of the most valuable work in the annotation and editing of the autobiographical sketch of Senator Douglas. Mr. Stevens has consented to give the society at the approaching annual meeting an address on Senator Douglas

As the General Assembly of the State of Illinois will observe the centennial anniversary of the birth of Mr. Douglas on April 23, 1913, the Historical Society will not have special exercises on that day.

Prof. O. B. Clark of Drake University of Des Moines, Iowa, is to present an address on Abraham Lincoln. So much has been written about Mr. Lincoln that it would seem hardly possible that anything new could be said, but Professor Clark has some new thoughts and facts to communicate. These he will present to the Historical Society in an address at the approaching annual meeting, entitled "The Lincoln Poor White Legend."

Mr. B. F. Harris of Champaign, an active member of the Illinois State Bankers' Association, has consented to give the society an address on legislation in reference to agricultural conditions in Illinois.

The titles of the above mentioned addresses are merely tentative. Exact titles will be given in the printed program which will be sent the members of the society.

The society has recently lost by the hand of death two of its earliest and most prominent members.

Mr. Paul Selby, the veteran newspaper man and the last of the members of the Illinois Editorial Convention of 1856, closed his earthly career on March 19, 1913, at the residence of his daughter, Mrs. Chas. H. Johnson, at River Forest, Ill. Mr. W. H. Clendenin, editor of the Illinois State Register, and an associate editor of this Journal, has been asked to present a paper on the life of

Mr. Selby at the annual meeting. Mr. Selby was an honorary member of the society and was most interested in and helpful to it in every way. The secretary of the society has for years been assisted by the kind and generous counsel of Mr. Selby.

On March 27, 1913, at his home in Freeport, Ill., Gen. Smith D. Atkins died. Gen. Atkins was a vice president of the Historical Society almost since its organization and was one of its most interested, valuable and conscientious members.

An address on the life of General Atkins will be presented at the annual meeting by Mr. Richard V. Carpenter of Belvidere, one of the directors of the society.

Professor E. B. Greene, the president of the Board of Trustees of the Historical Library and one of the Directors of the society, will speak at the meeting upon the condition of the public archives and records in this State and will make suggestions as to their preservation.

This is in substance the plan for the approaching meeting. Programs will be sent to all members of the society as soon as the arrangements are completed.

The secretary has so often urged the members of the society to make special efforts to attend the annual meeting that it seems unnecessary to repeat the plea. Matters of importance will be presented at the annual meeting and there is every reason why the members should attend.

They will derive pleasure and profit from the sessions and will encourage the officers of the society and the speakers.

It is likely that the weather will be pleasant at that season, the middle of May. Springfield is then at its best.

The members of the society and their families and friends are again urgently requested to attend the annual meeting.

CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS, APRIL 23, 1913.

The Forty-eighth General Assembly of the State of Illinois will meet in joint session at 2 P. M. on Wednesday, April 23, 1913, in honor of the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Stephen A Douglas.

Special exercises will be held, and Governor Edward F. Dunne will be the presiding officer. Invitations have been sent to many distinguished citizens, and persons who knew Senator Douglas have been specially invited.

Hon. Robert D. Douglas, of Greensboro, North Carolina, has accepted the invitation and will deliver an address on the life and services of his illustrious grandfather.

Mr. W. T. Davidson, of Lewistown, the veteran editor, will deliver an address. The principal address on Senator Douglas will be presented by former Vice President A. E. Stevenson, of Bloomington, Illinois. Senator Cullom has been obliged to decline the invitation of the Legislative Committee as he is not well enough to make the long journey from Washington.

Hon. Clark E. Carr, President of the Illinois State Historical Society, was invited to address the General Assembly, but is unable to do so, as he had already accepted an invitation to address the Chicago Historical Society on that day.

Addresses will be made by the two United States Senators from Illinois, Hon. J. Hamilton Lewis and Hon. L. Y. Sherman, and also by United States Senator James A. Reed, of Missouri. The centennial celebration will be a notable occasion.

The Chicago Historical Society will also celebrate the Douglas centenary. Col. Clark E. Carr, President of the Illinois State Historical Society, will deliver the principal address. Mr. Martin F. Douglas, a grandson of Senator Douglas, will read an address written by his father, Judge Robert M. Douglas, the only surviving child

of Stephen A. Douglas, and Mr. Wallace Rice will read his original ode entitled "Stephen Arnold Douglas."

The Chicago Historical Society will also hold a brief service at the tomb of Douglas on the morning of April 23rd, the centennial anniversary of his birth.

CENTENNIAL OF THE STATE OF ILLINOIS.

COMMISSION CREATED TO PREPARE FOR THE ONE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE STATE'S ADMISSION TO THE FEDERAL UNION, 1918.

Two joint resolutions have been passed by the present General Assembly of the State authorizing the creation of a commission to plan for the celebration of the centennial of Illinois. These resolutions were introduced by Senator C. S. Hearn, of Quincy. The text of both resolutions is herewith given in full.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 15.

Offered by Mr. Hearn, February 4, 1913. Laid on the table for one day.

WHEREAS, Illinois was admitted to the Union of States December Third, Eighteen Hundred Eighteen, A. D., the centennial anniversary thereof being rapidly approaching, and it being meet and fit that the State which has given of its sons so prolifically to the progress of the nation and the world, during the period of its statehood, should fittingly observe its hundredth anniversary by a celebration which shall do honor to itself and to the nation.

Resolved, by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring: That a commission consisting of five members of the Senate and five members of the House of Representatives of the Forty-eighth General Assembly shall be appointed, to have charge of the preliminary arrangements of such celebration to be held in Springfield, the State Capital, on such centennial date, and to

determine, as may be, the character and necessities of such celebration, and to report the result of its findings to the Forty-ninth General Assembly. Such joint commission to hold its meetings in the City of Springfield, at such time or times as may be necessary to successfully inaugurate such movement.

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION NO. 20.

WHEREAS, Senate Joint Resolution No. 15 was adopted by the Senate on the twelfth day of February, 1913, and adopted by the House of Representatives on February 18, 1913; wherein it was provided that a commission consisting of ten members of the General Assembly be appointed to have charge of the preliminary arrangements to celebrate the centennial anniversary of the admittance of the State of Illinois into the Union.

AND WHEREAS, Since the adoption and concurrence of the said resolution, it has been found that it would be beneficial and of great assistance to the joint committee of the General Assembly to be appointed under said resolution, because of their great experience and knowledge to have five additional members added thereto of whom three shall be officials in the University of Illinois and the other two shall be representatives of the Illinois Historical Society; therefore,

Resolved, By the Senate of the State of Illinois, the House of Representatives concurring therein, that E. J. James, E. B. Greene and J. W. Garner, of the University of Illinois, and Jessie Palmer Weber and Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, of the Illinois Historical Society, are hereby appointed as additional members of the committee heretofore provided for.

Further Resolved, That the committee is hereby authorized to employ such necessary assistants as may be deemed expedient to carry out the purposes of this resolution, and that an appropriation be made therefor.

The above resolution, which is in fact an amendment to Senate Joint Resolution No. 15, was concurred in by the House of Representatives April 8, 1913.

Under the rules of the Senate the five senators will be selected by the executive committee of the Senate, and the five members of the House will be appointed by the Speaker.

Members of the Illinois State Historical Society are requested to give the matter of the centennial celebration earnest thought, and suggestions will be welcomed by the secretary of the society who has been named a member of the commission.

It is hoped that the centennial will be celebrated in a manner which will make it a real memorial, showing in a truly great and appropriate manner the wonderful growth of Illinois and its people in their material and mental resources.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS, FEBRUARY 18, 1913.

The special meeting of the Illinois State Historical Society which was held in the State Library at Springfield, was a most successful meeting and the evening session was largely attended by the citizens of Springfield and a large number of the members of the Legislature were also in attendance.

At the afternoon meeting no literary program was given. The principal business at the afternoon meeting was the question of the status of the plans for the proposed new building. President Charles H. Rammelkamp, of Illinois College, Jacksonville was the principal speaker. President Rammelkamp is a member of the Commission created by the Forty-Seventh General Assembly for the purpose of making plans for the building, and a member of the sub-committee which was appointed

by the Commission to confer with the State Architect and other persons in regard to the plans for the building. Professor Rammelkamp told of the labors of the Commission and of the plans prepared by the State Architect for it.

Prof. E. B. Greene also spoke of the work of the Commission. Mr. J. N. Perrin, of St. Clair county, spoke of the approaching centennial celebration of St. Clair county.

The Illinois State Historical Society heartily endorsed the plans for the celebration and on motion of Mr. Perrin a committee was appointed to co-operate with the St. Clair County Centennial Association in making the celebration a success. The members of the committee appointed by the President are: William A. Meese, chairman, Charles H. Rammelkamp, E. L. Meritt, Miss Lottie E. Jones and Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

At the evening meeting Mr. Charles M. Thompson spoke of the work done in locating the "Lincoln Way." This is the route supposed to have been taken by Thomas Lincoln, the father of Abraham Lincoln, when coming with his family and a party of friends and relatives from Indiana to Illinois. Mr. Thompson has been the agent of the Illinois State Historical Library in attempting to locate this route and he told in a most entertaining manner of his work in interviewing old settlers, visiting old towns, and trails and examining old surveys, county records, maps, etc.

Mr. William A Meese presented his illustrated lecture on persons and places noted in early Illinois history. The pictures are very fine, many of them being from rare original negatives owned by Mr. Meese.

The pupils of the seventh and eighth grades of the public schools having been invited to attend the lecture, came in large numbers. There were more than one hundred boys and girls in attendance and they seemed

much interested in the pictures and the remarks of both Mr. Meese and Mr. Thompson.

While the attendance of members of the Historical Society was not as large as was desired, the attendance of the general public was most gratifying.

THE AMERICAN MELTING POT.

The brief but scholarly paper of Judge J. O. Cunningham, on the "Evolution of the American People," in the January number of the *Journal*, recalls an old anecdote of the Civil war that well illustrates the heterogeneous elements amalgamated in the evolution of Americans as a race.

As related, in a convivial gathering of several colonels of Union regiments, during one of the southern campaigns, the conversation turned upon the superior merits, or distinguishing features, of their respective regiments. One colonel said he had the bravest men in the division. Another boasted that he had the best drilled regiment in the whole army, and so on. At length a Chicago colonel, who hadn't much of anything about his command to brag about, remarked that he had in his regiment men of nineteen different nationalities. This was thought by some of the others to be an extravagant statement, and he was asked to name them. He said, as he counted them, he had English, French, Germans, Italians, Irish, Scotch, Poles, Swedes, and continued until he had named eighteen nationalities, but could not remember the nineteenth. Again he named them all over to the eighteenth, but still could not recall the other one. This he repeated two or three times, when he suddenly exclaimed: "Ah, yes! Now I have it! In addition to the eighteen I have named I have a few Americans."

GIFT OF BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS TO THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

The following named books have been presented to the Library. The Board of Trustees of the Library and the officers of the Society desire to acknowledge the receipt of these valuable contributions and to thank the donors for them:

A Farm Philosopher. A Love Story. By Ada H. Kepley. 410 pages, 8 vo., 1912. The Woman's Printery, Teutopolis, Ill. The Gift of the author.

Centennial History of Madison County, Ill., 1812-1912. 2 Vols., 4to, Chicago, 1912. The Lewis Pub. Co., The gift of the publishers.

Journal of Pontiac's Conspiracy, 1763. By Clarence Monroe Burton, 243 pages, 8 vo., Detroit. Gift of the author.

Seventy-five Significant Years. The Story of Knox College, 1837-1912. By Martha Farnham Webster. 210 pages. 8 vo., Galesburg, Ill., 1912. Gift of Dean D. W. Simonds, Knox College, Galesburg, Ill.

Westmoreland County, Virginia, 1653-1912. Parts I and II, 153 pages, 8 vo., Richmond, 1912. Gift of Judge T. R. B. Wright, of Tappahannock, Va., the compiler.

The Stock Exchange from Within. By W. C. VanAntwerp, 459 pages, 12 vo., Garden City, N. Y., 1913. Gift of Doubleday, Page & Co., the publishers.

Illinois Composers of Music and Representative Works. Published under the direction of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs. Compiled by Constance Barlow Smith. The gift of the compiler.

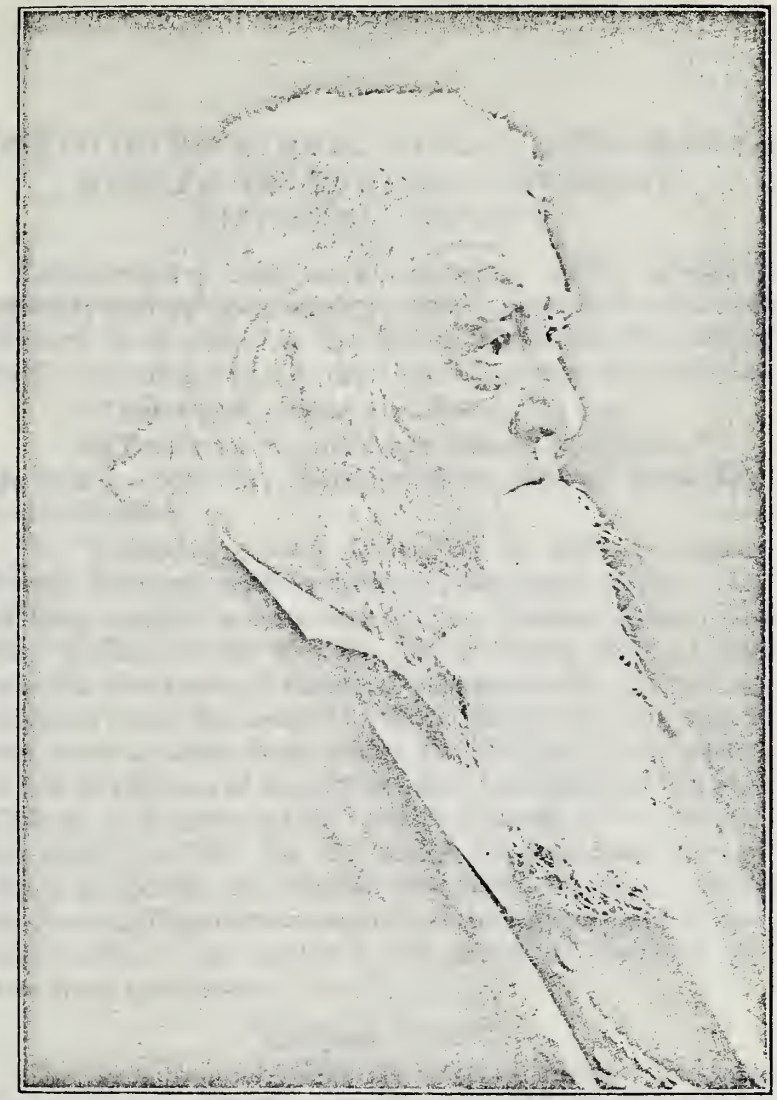
The British Invasion of New Haven, Connecticut, together with Some Account of Their Landing and Burning the Towns of Fairfield and Norwalk, July, 1779. By Charles Henry Townshend. 112 pages, 8 vo., New Haven, 1879. Gift of Yale University Library.

The Coin Shilling of Massachusetts Bay. By William G. Sumner. Reprinted from the Yale Review, November, 1898. The gift of Yale University Library.

Early Milliners and Dressmakers in Bloomington, Ill. By Miss Amanda M. Thayer. 1912. Gift of Milo Custer, Bloomington, Ill.

Pioneer Preparation and Spinning of Flax and Wool. By Milo Custer, Bloomington, Ill. Gift of Milo Custer, Bloomington, Ill.

NECROLOGY.



Samuel Willard.

DEATH OF DR. SAMUEL WILLARD, THE OLDEST MEMBER OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Extraordinary mental attainments, much executive capacity and untiring energy made it possible for Samuel Willard to be thus, in the words of his favorite Saint Paul, "all things to all men," and to reach old age with

"That which should accompany old age,
As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends."

He was an honorary member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

Dr. Willard was born December 30, 1821, in Lunenburgh, Vermont, died in Chicago, February 9, 1913. Dr. Willard came of a long line of New England sires. The first Willard in the country, Major Simon Willard, who laid out the town of Concord, Massachuetts, was an immigrant from the county of Kent, England. His second son, born in 1640, from whom Dr. Willard is descended, was a clergyman of note in his day, president of Harvard College and pastor of Old South Church, at the time of his death, in 1707. Dr. Willard is his grandson's grandson's grandson, the eighth generation in this country. In these eight generations, six were clergymen, three were army officers (all majors) two practiced medicine and two were professors.

PIONEERS IN 1831.

The little Samuel spent his boyhood in New England. In the spring of 1831 his father brought his family west by a route so long and tedious as to be almost incredible in these days. They traveled by stage coach from Boston to Hartford, Connecticut, then by steamboat to New York, where they took a coach across the city to the docks, along the west short of the Island. Here they took

another steamer down the New Jersey coast and up the Raritan to Trenton. After four days of waiting at Bordentown, N. J., they finally secured seats in the stage which was to take them over the mountains to Pittsburgh, where they boarded the steamer for Louisville, Ky. Another steamer brought them to St. Louis, and still another up the Mississippi and the Illinois rivers to Bushnell's Ferry (now Columbiana). There they took a canoe up the Illinois and one of its "slews" to within four miles of a friend's house where, after a few days' visit, they took a carriage twelve miles further to Carrollton, Ill., the new home.

In 1833 cholera swept the country and took two sons a nurse and the cook, reducing the family to father, mother and the eldest son, then eleven years old. Eighteen years later Dr. Willard spent a hard summer combating the plague, with all the medical skill of those days, in Collinsville, a small town in the American "bottom," east of St. Louis.

The intervening years held much of interest. The youth went to Shurtleff college, in Alton, Ill., and later to Illinois college, at Jacksonville, from which he was graduated in 1843. At that time his entrance requirements and curriculum were the same as those of Yale college of that date, and Dr. Edward Beecher, of the famous Beecher family, was its president, succeeded by Dr. Julian M. Sturtevant, whose son of the same name is a resident of Sheridan Park.

One of Dr. Willard's classmates was Mr. E. W. Blatchford, another was Judge John P. Morton, of the supreme court of Kansas; another, who was his special chum, and a life-long friend, was Dr. Newton Bateman, president of Knox college at the time of his death; another was the Reverend Thomas K. Beecher, a preacher only less celebrated than his brother, Henry Ward. Other college friends were Richard Yates, the great "war governor"

of Illinois; and Dr. O. A. Hand, an original genius and clever practitioner.

Dr. Willard's father, Julius A. Willard, was living in Jacksonville by this time, and had become an earnest abolitionist, having been an intimate friend of Elijah P. Lovejoy, at Alton, Ill., editor of the Observer, who was an early martyr to the cause. In Jacksonville the Willard house became a station on the famous "underground railroad" and both father and son, the latter in his senior year at college, were active in assisting runaway slaves.

One of the slaves, named "Lucy," who had escaped from her mistress, Mrs. Lisle, of St. Louis, was the occasion of the arrest and indictment of Mr. Willard and his son. The fugitive slave law had not yet been tested in Illinois, and Mr. Willard proceeded to test it by carrying this case to the supreme court of the State, on whose records his name stands. He was defeated and fined, and the slave girl was returned to her mistress, but in many other instances the underground station at Jacksonville successfully passed on the trembling and pathetically grateful blacks to the Canadian border and freedom.

During his college life, and for years afterwards, Dr. Willard was much devoted to music. He played several instruments, preferring the violincello, or "bass viol." He was conductor of the town orchestra and began writing music, none of which would he ever allow to be published. There are still in manuscript many quaint old-fashioned hymns, anthems, glees and ballads, mostly of a sentimental type that has been outgrown these many years, but which to their aged composer were full of associations with the days when he was a youthful enthusiast, eager to hear and know the new operas, the days when Sontag and Jenny Lind were the idols of the operatic world.

Dr. Willard began studying medicine in Quincy, Ill., and took his medical degree at the Illinois Medical college, then a graduate school attached to Illinois college

at Jacksonville, in 1848. A little later he went to Collinsville to practice. Here he met and married, July 10, 1851, Harriet Jane Edgar, daughter of Alexander Edgar, of New Jersey. In 1857 he again returned to Jacksonville in very frail health, and later to Bloomington, where he became professor of Latin and of English literature in the State normal university.

At this period of his life Dr. Willard's long career as a leader in the lodge of the Independent Order of Odd Fellows was inaugurated. His earliest certificate of membership is dated Quincy, Ill., 1849. Fifty years later he was presented with a medal at the Grand Encampment (national) of that year. His greatest service to the order was the writing of a digest of the laws of the order. "Willard's Digest" became not only the standard authority among I. O. O. F. lodges, but was used as a basis for many subsequent manuals of parliamentary order.

As editor of the Illinois Teacher, beginning with 1858, Dr. Willard's influence and acquaintance throughout the State was augmented, corresponding in date to his professorship at the Normal University. It was in the spring of 1860 that he was made secretary of the second Republican convention of the State of Illinois, the convention which declared itself for Lincoln for the presidency. It was at this time that Dr. Willard met and became a friend of the great Emancipator. His earliest adventure in politics and journalism had been the editing of a campaign sheet at Quincy, Ill., with the late Chief Justice Charles B. Lawrence, in the spring of 1848. About 1850 he was mayor of Collinsville under a prohibition regime.

During the Civil War, in 1862, he enlisted as a volunteer in the Ninety-seventh Illinois, receiving an appointment as regimental surgeon, which carried with it the rank of major. His regiment joined Grant's army in the maneuvers which preceded the taking of Vicksburg, and the illness caused by drinking the swamp water, which decimated the regiment, produced paralysis in the

surgeon himself. Resigning, he was brought north and was an invalid for two years, never able to resume the practice of medicine. This period was followed by his appointment as chief clerk in the office of General Oakes, at Springfield, acting assistant provost marshal general and superintendent of the volunteer recruiting service of the State of Illinois.

Later, remaining in Springfield, he established the Springfield public library, putting through the legislature the first bill in regard to public libraries enacted in Illinois. He was also superintendent of schools in Springfield, when his appointment to the Chicago High school, at teacher of history, caused his removal to that city in 1870, a year before the great fire.

For twenty-seven years Dr. Willard taught and lectured on general history until, at the age of seventy-five, he resigned and retired. During that long period of usefulness, first in the original Chicago High school, afterwards called the Central High school, and later in the West Division High school, his profession brought him into intimate daily relation with pupils numbering in all about four thousand. His personality was, in hundreds of instances, a strong element in influencing the character and bent of his young charges. Hundreds of these are now prominent and useful men and women, and invariably they look back with pleasure and gratitude to the months spent in Dr. Willard's class-room. Every birthday brought letters and testimonials from his old pupils, to gladden the closing years of his long and valuable life.

Dipping at random into the lists of former pupils one comes upon such names as Charles M. Hutchinson, John C. Vaughn, Lessing Rosenthal and his wife (Violet Frank), Mrs. Henry Solomon, Mrs. Henry L. Frank and their brother, Henry Greenebaum, Jr., Mrs. Hugh T. Patrick (Fanny Gary), Henry Perce, G. Fred Rush, Walter M. Holden, Horace Oakley, Leo Stein, Charles

Chandler, Frederick S. and Lemuel Greeley, Ernest and Alexander Prussing, Frances Crane, the late wife of Prof. Lilly of the Chicago University; Paul Shorey, head of the Greek department of the University, also the late Charles S. Goodspeed, professor of history in the University, Francis O. Brown, editor of the Dial, William Morton Payne, also of the Dial, Victor Lawson, Myrtle Reed, Mrs. Lindon Bates, the novelist; Lindon Bates, one of the engineers of the Suez Canal; his sister, Dr. Mary Bates, F. P. Dunne ("Mr. Dooley"), Dr. T. N. Danforth, Jr., Marion Foster Washburn, George S. Hicks, Albert and William Alsip, Dr. Cassius D. Westcott, Dr. John B. Ellis, Dr. George Beebe, Chester C. Broomell, the late Lawrence Ennis, Herman and Rudolf Metz, and twenty-six principals of schools.

In Rogers Park are many old pupils of the doctor's among whom are James I. Ennis, E. S. Blackall, Mrs. W. T. Huston, Mrs. George J. Fowler, Mrs. John H. McGill, Charles A. Kent, Mrs. C. S. Frye, and of recent residents, Mrs. Adolf Kreis and John B. Waldo.

In 1878, while professor of history, Dr. Willard wrote "A Synopsis of History," (D. Appleton & Co., New York), a work which was the outcome of his experience in teaching. Six years earlier he had written one of the best histories of the Chicago Fire published at that time. They, with the "Willard Digest," were his only books. He wrote many magazine articles and turned out a large mass of miscellaneous literary work. An unfinished historical dictionary is among his manuscript papers.

Dr. Willard's demise, following an indigestion, was due to old age. He is survived by two sons and three daughters: John Frederick Willard, of Los Angeles: Charles Dwight Willard, of Los Angeles, editor of the California Outlook; Mrs. Henry Hiestand and Mary Frances Willard of Rogers Park, and Mrs. Jane W. Putnam of Philadelphia. Three others were Edgar, Paul

and Alice, the latter the late Mrs. Edwin D. Solenberger of Philadelphia, author of "One Thousand Homeless Men," Eighteen grandchildren and four great-grandchildren also survive him.

Funeral services were held Tuesday afternoon, February 18, 1913. At All Souls' church, Evanston, the services were conducted by the Reverend James Vila Blake of that church and were of extreme simplicity. At Graceland Chapel the Grand Army of the Republic, George H. Thomas Post, and Fort Dearborn Lodge, I. O. O. F., conducted services. The Chicago Commandery of the Loyal Legion, to which Major Willard also belonged, was represented by one of the many floral tributes. The civilian pallbearers were Messrs. George H. Rockwell, Russell Whitman, C. K. Pittman, A. S. Dodge, W. E. Harman and H. J. Dunbaugh.

The remains were cremated at the request of the deceased and will be interred in the family lot at Graceland cemetery.

DEATH OF JAMES H. ALEXANDER.

James H. Alexander was born in Will county, Ill., in the year 1846. He died at Lockport, Ill., December 13, 1912.

Mr. Alexander was a native Illinoisan and was much interested in all that pertained to the welfare of his native State. His father, James L .Alexander, came to Illinois from the state of New York in 1837, and helped to construct the Illinois and Michigan canal. He purchased a farm in DuPage township, Will county, Ill., in 1841. In 1861 he moved to the farm near Lockport.

The father died in 1876 and since that time the farm has been operated by James H. Alexander, who felt a great affection for the ancestral acres and improved them in every way.

Mr. Alexander highly prized the historical associations and traditions of his State and locality and did all in his power to preserve historical landmarks. He was a member of the Illinois State Historical Society and most loyally aided the society in all its undertakings.

Mr. Alexander was an educated man. His father being in good circumstances, gave his children unusual opportunities for the day in which he lived. James H. Alexander was educated in the public schools and attended Beloit college, but it was after his school days were over that his most serious studies began. He was a successful farmer and he appreciated the advantages to be derived from the study of the science of agriculture and its practical application.

He was not a politician, but often held the office of school director or school trustee. He was elected to the lower house of the Forty-seventh General Assembly of the State and re-elected to the Forty-eighth General Assembly, but died before he had taken his seat. He was as a legislator, as in all other relations in life, industrious, conscientious and faithful to his duties.

AN APPEAL TO THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

OBJECTS OF COLLECTION DESIRED BY THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

(Members please read this Circular Letter.)

Books and pamphlets on American History, Biography and Genealogy, particularly those relating to the west; works on Indian tribes, and American Archaeology and Ethnology; Reports of Societies and Institutions of every kind, Educational, Economic, Social, Political, Co-operative, Fraternal, Statistical, Industrial, Charitable; Scientific Publications of States or Societies, Books or Pamphlets relating to the Great Rebellion, and the wars with the Indians; privately printed works; Newspapers; Maps and Charts; Engravings; Photographs; Autographs; Coins, Antiquities; Encyclopedias, Dictionaries, and Bibliographical Works. Especially do we desire.

EVERYTHING RELATING TO ILLINOIS.

1. Every book or pamphlet on any subject relating to Illinois, or any part of it; also every book or pamphlet written by an Illinois citizen, whether published in Illinois or elsewhere; materials for Illinois history; old letters, diaries, etc.

2. Manuscripts; narratives of the pioneers of Illinois; original papers on the early history and settlement of the territory; adventures and conflicts during the early settlement; the Indian troubles or the late rebellion; biographies of the pioneers, prominent citizens and public men of every county ,either living or deceased, together with their portraits and autographs; a sketch of the settlement of every township, village and neighborhood in the State, with the names of the first settlers. We

solicit articles on every subject connected with Illinois history.

3. City ordinances, proceedings of mayor and council; reports of committees of council; pamphlets or papers of any kind printed by authority of the city; reports of boards of trade; maps of cities and plats of town sites or of additions thereto.

4. Pamphlets of all kinds; annual reports of societies; sermons and addresses delivered in the State; minutes of church conventions, synods, or other ecclesiastical bodies of Illinois; political addresses; railroad reports; all such ,whether published in pamphlet or newspaper, or in manuscript form.

5. Catalogues and reports of colleges and other institutions of learning; annual or other reports of school boards, school superintendents, and school committees; educational pamphlets, programs and papers of every kind, no matter how small or apparently unimportant.

6. Copies of the earlier laws, journals and reports of our Territorial and State Legislatures; earlier Governors' messages and reports of State officers; reports of State charitable and other State institutions.

7. Files of Illinois newspapers and magazines, especially complete volumes of past years, or single numbers even. Publishers are earnestly requested to contribute their publications regularly, all of which will be carefully preserved and bound.

8. Maps of the State, or of counties or townships, of any date; views and engravings of buildings or historic places; drawings or photographs of scenery; paintings, portraits, etc., connected with Illinois history.

9. Curiosities of all kinds; coins, medals; paintings; portraits; engravings; statuary; war relics, autograph letters of distinguished persons etc.

10. Facts illustrative of our Indian tribes—their history, characteristics, religion, etc.; sketches of prominent chiefs, orators and warriors, together with contributions

of Indian weapons, costumes, ornaments, curiosities and implements; also stone axes, spears, arrow heads, pottery, or other relics.

In brief, everything that, by the most liberal construction, can illustrate the history of Illinois, its early settlement, its progress or present condition. All will be of interest to succeeding generations. Contributions will be credited to the donors in the published reports of the library and society, and will be carefully preserved in the State House as the property of the State, for the use and benefit of the people for all time.

Communications or gifts may be addressed to the librarian and secretary.

(Mrs.) Jessie Palmer Weber.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bilbliography of Newspapers Published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., professor in the University of Chicago, assisted by Milo J. Loveless, graduate student in the University of Chicago. 94 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information Relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois, passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., professor in the University of Chicago. 170 pages, 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D., secretary of the society. 55 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. Alphabetic Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects Compiled under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Library, by the librarian, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-15 inc. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1910 inclusive. 10 volumes. Numbers 6 to 11 inclusive are out of print.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 1. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 2. Virginia series, Vol. I. Edited by Clarence W. Alvord. CLVI and 663 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, Ill., 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 3. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Lincoln Series, Vol. 1. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D., 627 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, Ill., 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 4. Executive Series, Vol. 1. The Governor's Letter-Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. XXXII and 317 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, Ill., 1909.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 5. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. L and 681 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, Ill., 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections. Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series. Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. CIV and 610 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1910.

Illinois Historical Collections. Vol. VII. Executive Series. Vol. II. Governor's Letter-Books. 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. CXVIII and 469 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1911.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. I, No. 1, Sept., 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord, University of Illinois. 38 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. I, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois. 34 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. I, No. 1, Nov., 1905. An outline for the study of Illinois State History. Compiled under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, by Jessie Palmer Weber, Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library and Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, assisted by Georgia L. Osborne, Assistant Librarian. 94 pages, 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

Journals of the Illinois State Historical Society, Quarterly, Vol. I, No. 1, April, 1908, to Vol. VI, No. 1, April, 1913.

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*Vol. I, out of print. Vol. II, Nos. 3 and 4, out of print. Vol. III, out of print. Vol. IV, out of print.

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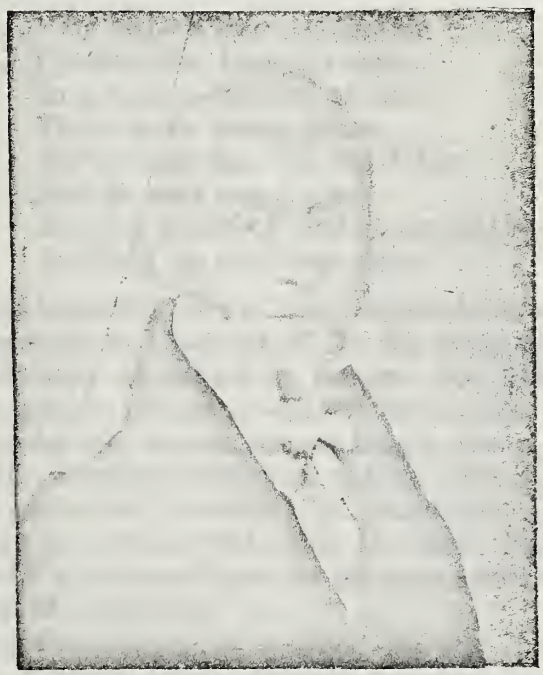


BENJAMIN LUNDY.

BENJAMIN LUNDY, PIONEER OF FREEDOM.

ANNUAL ADDRESS BEFORE THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, MAY, 1913.

By Hon. George A. Lawrence, Galesburg, Ill.

"By Nebo's lonely mountain,
On this side Jordan's wave,
In a vale in the land of Moab,
There lies a lonely grave.
But no man dug that sepulcher
And no man saw it e'er,
For the angels of God upturned the sod
And laid the dead man there."

These beautiful lines of Mrs. Alexander's were written of a prophet and pioneer of the far away years; of the man divinely appointed to become the leader of the chosen people; of a man who left behind him all that was alluring in life, wealth, almost kingly power, and a possible life of ease, to undertake the forty years' wandering in the wilderness, to endure the complaints and seditions of those he served, and to meet his death without having entered the promised land, to the very verge of which he brought his followers.

I am privileged to present to you the story of a man that in many respects parallels the career of Moses; of a man who is sepulchered today not upon a "lonely mountain," but upon a hilltop on the banks of Clear Creek, in Putnam county, Illinois. Appreciative nature has covered that sepulcher deep with myrtle and upon the simple stone that marks the resting place are graven these words:

"Benjamin Lundy,
Died August 22, 1839,
Age, 50 years, 7 months, 18 days."

Buried in that lonely spot far away from the tumult, toil and struggle of life, there is nothing in name or environment to suggest the character, or the achievements, or the deserved fame of the man who lies buried there. Yet, he was to his generation a second Moses. Chosen to lead a people out of bondage, for more than twenty-five years *he wandered* in the wilderness, at the head, *not of hosts,* but leading a forlorn hope. Like Moses, he died ere he had entered the promised land, but with every step accomplished and being accomplished, largely through his initiative, that at last would result in its attainment. In that lonely grave today rests a man of no dazzling or meteoric career, but one whose heroic life, loyal service and divine sacrifice ought to be emblazoned upon the pages of human history. He lived a life of quietude and peace, but he set in motion forces for human liberty and human fellowship that resulted in the freedom of a race.

In obedience to your most kind invitation, I wish to bring to you, as far as my time will allow, something of this man.

Shall we not first profitably inquire into his times, and the day and generation in which he lived and which he served?

The period from 1800 to 1830 may be well called, in discussing the question of human slavery, a period of stagnation. Slavery, introduced into Virginia in 1619, had fastened itself upon the country, north and south alike. In the north, however, the slaves were used only for domestic purposes and were the source of neither pleasure nor profit, and they soon ceased to be a factor in its domestic or political economy. In the south, on the contrary, the milder climate conducing to the lassitude of the white population was a fitting environment for the negro, but even there for a century and a half the slave had no special economic significance, and above all, was not a source of any great profit. The Declaration of Independence and the formal assertion by the thirteen colo-

nies of the rights of man, affected in a great measure the status of the slave, for those sturdy ancestors of ours were logicians as well as patriots. In 1783 slavery was judiciously abolished in Massachusetts and the Ordinance of 1787 for the government of the Northwest Territory was a long step forward in the direction of its general abolition. A great world movement, begun in 1794, ended slavery in the French West Indies and several South American republics, terminating only in a similar result in Mexico in 1829, and in the British West Indies in 1833 by Act of Parliament. Slavery had, prior to the Revolution in this country, rather been suffered without comment, than endorsed or specially contended for. In the state of New York the first active opposition to it was the organization of anti-slavery societies under the presidency of John Jay in 1785. Two years afterwards Benjamin Franklin led an abolition society in Philadelphia. From that time for a number of years, these societies multiplied both north and south. Abolition was in the air, slavery in contempt and disgrace. These were the days of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, the creation of the Mason and Dixon line and the abolishment in other nations of the slave trade. With its destruction our forefathers hoped that slavery itself would die and were well content to rest upon their laurels. Our most eminent statesmen from all sections of the country, irrespective of political affiliations, were as apt to be abolitionists in some form or other as to favor slavery. No one was more outspoken in behalf of equal rights than Thomas Jefferson, the leading character of the slave territory in his day. In fact, many of the southern enactments concerning the slave and slavery were decidedly humanitarian in their tendencies, and restrained manumission in a measure, by an insistence upon the future support of those who were sought to be freed. In a general way it may be said that the slave power at that time was that of a giant, conscious of his own invulnerability. It did

not fear discussion and did not condemn those opposed to it. The anti-slavery sentiments of leading men, of Randolph, Jefferson, Mason, Nicholas, made no impression whatever upon this automatic power, ruling as it saw fit for its own interest. Complacent when it saw but little to contend for, with no pro-slavery or anti-slavery sentiment, it offered no obstruction to anti-slavery societies in North Carolina, Virginia and Tennessee fifteen years later.

These moral forces were scarce noted in the enormous development of the cotton interest that took place in the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1794 the invention of the cotton gin by Whitney revolutionized the status of the slave as affecting the industry of the southern states. Hitherto slavery and negroes had been but a poor investment to the planter, growing out of idle habits and haphazard methods. Had there been no cotton culture, and no cotton gin to have made the business active and profitable, it is probable that slavery would have expired in all the states as it did in half of them, under the inspiration of universal liberty which came of the Declaration of Independence and the struggle of the Revolution. But the cotton gin, with the aid of slave labor, made possible its cultivation on an important scale; incited ambitions for wealth, aggrandizement and political power, and became very essential from this standpoint to their future prosperity. It held out the promises of enormous gain. It received a representation based upon slave population and for that purpose demanded an extension of the area of slavery. It was the act of the hitherto sleeping giant awakened to the seductive influences of enormous wealth, and it had the more alluring temptations of supreme political power. The north also was more or less affected by its commercial relations with the south, and especially is this true in the case of important commercial centers. There, everywhere, could be found a decided

pro-slavery sentiment ready, then, and afterwards, to foster and encourage its promotion.

It is remarkable to note the effect which commercial relations or political ambitions had or could have upon the conscience or the conduct of mankind with reference to this question. One naturally looks upon Massachusetts as for rock-ribbed abolition, and upon Virginia as being for slavery from the very nature of the situation. To illustrate how far from the truth this can be, let me quote from a speech of Edward Everett in Congress about 1834 or '35:

> "Sir", said he, addressing the speaker, "I am no soldier. My habits and education are very unmilitary. But there is no cause in which I would sooner buckle a knapsack on my back and put a musket on my shoulder, than that of putting down a servile insurrection at the South. The slaves of this country are better clothed and fed than the peasantry of some of the most prosperous states of Europe. The great relation of servitude, in some form or other, with greater or less departure from the theoretic equality of man, is inseparable from our nature. Domestic slavery is not, in my judgment, to be set down as an immoral or irreligious relation. It is a condition of life as well as any other, to be judged by morality, religion and International Law."

And then arose John Randolph of Roanoke, a typical Virginian:

> "Sir, I envy neither the head nor the heart of that man from the North who rises here to defend slavery on principle."

Abolitionism meanwhile, was sitting quietly by with folded hands, all organized opposition at an end. Up to 1814 only three pamphlets of any importance were published anywhere affecting anti-slavery and these advocated progressive emancipation or discussed doctrinal or agricultural questions in connection with slavery.

In this crisis of affairs, aggression on the one hand and apathy on the other, who should lead a new crusade against the violators of the Temple of Liberty? Who should become a second Moses to lead a people out of bondage into freedom?

He came, not out of a kingly court: Not from among the learned, the eloquent, or those of commanding influence, but from the ranks of the humble and the lowly, with none of these attributes, and with nothing of either physical or educational equipment, that would indicate the possibilities of his career.

Benjamin Lundy was born January 4, 1789, the only son of Joseph and Eliza (Shotwell) Lundy, at Handwick, Sussex county, New Jersey. His parents and most of their connections were members of the society of Friends and came originally from England and Wales. His mother died when he was about five years old. During her life he had been to school and learned to read but little. After his father's second marriage he attended school a few weeks and began to try to write before he was eight years of age. At the age of sixteen he again went to school a short time to learn arithmetic. This was all the schooling he ever had. He writes of himself:

> "I had an unquenchable thirst for knowledge and was withal very ambitious in so much that when my father hired men to work on his farm, I labored with them much too hard for my physical frame, in order to convince them, though I was a mere boy, I could do the work of the largest and strongest of them. By this means I partially lost my hearing and otherwise injured myself."

At the age of nineteen, on account of failing health, he went to Wheeling, Virginia, where he remained four years and served an apprenticeship at the saddler's trade and worked at it eighteen months as a journeyman. It was there he writes, "My faculties were developed, my character made known to myself and the principles that

have since guided me in my public labor were formed and fixed." Of his associates he says, "They were wild, fashionable youths, clever enough, but fond of frivolous sports." For himself, he resolved to check any unreasonable propensities before it was too late. He kept in his plain dress, attended the regular meetings of his society (the Quakers) and spent most of his time in reading instructive books.

Consider for a moment the geographical position of Wheeling, his residence in these formative years. Located upon the Ohio river, it was the boundary line of the slave territory over which Lundy passed every week in attendance upon First Day service in a free state. The Ohio river was the highway of the slave traffic at that time, which was enormous and enormously profitable. Engaged in developing the new regions of the west and southwest, Kentucky and Missouri were being rapidly settled and Illinois was a future battle ground to be occupied and entrenched, if possible. Virginia, Maryland and the southern states adjoining were the breeding ground for the western market. Here the slaves were collected together, "bunched up" as we would say in cattle phrase today. Chained together under the guard of drivers, to prevent an escape into free states adjoining they were driven to the Ohio river, placed upon boats at some convenient point and floated down to their destination. Wheeling was the greatest thoroughfare in this traffic in human flesh and Benjamin Lundy saw it in all its enormity. Anticipating by a few years the sensation and resolution of Abraham Lincoln at New Orleans, he formed a resolution then and there that became the determined purpose of his life, and from the accomplishment of which he never wavered. He says, "My heart was deeply touched at the gross abomination; I heard the wail of the captive, I felt his pang of distress, and the iron entered my soul." The assistant editor of his closing days, Mr. Z. Eastman, was told in 1839 by

Mr. Lundy that as far back as 1808 he was led to make a consecration of his life for the deliverance of the slave. That must have been in the first year of his apprenticeship and his impression must have been immediate as well as profound.

Mr. Lundy left Wheeling in 1812 and returned to Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, where he met his future wife. Remaining there for two years engaged at his trade, he returned to his father's home in New Jersey for a stay of eight or ten months. Refusing his father's offer to engage in business there, he returned to St. Clairsville, Ohio, ten miles west of Wheeling, was married and started a business. That he was successful appears from his own statement.

> "I began with no other means but my own hands and a disposition for industry and economy. In a little more than four years, however, I found myself in possession of more than $3,000 worth of property beyond what was necessary to paye the moderate amount I owed. I had then a loving wife and two beautiful children that it was then a real happiness to possess and cherish. I was at peace with my neighbor and knew not that I had an enemy. I had bought a lot and built myself a comfortable house. All my wants and those of my family were fully supplied. My business was increasing and prosperity seemed to smile upon me."

I have quoted this fully that we might all appreciate the extent and completeness of the sacrifice that was to be made. In that period of our national development upon the frontier, very much of future wealth and influence was represented in the fact of a permanent home, a united family and increasing business. The accumulation of a capital of $3,000 within four years at that time, without assistance, was no. mean accomplishment and indicated great business capacity. The man who could do this was capable of great things in any undertaking.

May we take a glance at the man himself at that time? A biographer has said:

> "He was slender and slightly under middle size, with light complexion, blue eyes and wavy hair. He was cheerful, unassuming and studious."

An engraving from a portrait by A. Dickenson, published in 1847, reveals a man with a scholarly, dignified face, a mild eye, clad in conventional garb with high collar and choker; one whose appearance would never indicate his rugged nature or his ability for any heroic struggle which should demand the highest capacity for physical, mental and moral fortitude. His portrait is also included as one of a dozen men cited in Greeley's "American Conflict" as eminent opponents of the slave power. Compared with the portraits of Joshua Giddings, William Lloyd Garrison, Gerrit Smith, Charles Sumner, or Owen Lovejoy, Lundy seems mild, indeed, though not effeminate. A water color portrait, however, owned by Susan Maria (Lundy) Wireman, his daughter, who is also buried at Clear Creek Cemetery, has given me a better idea of the real man he was. "Blue eyes and wavy hair" might well describe the man of the engraving I have spoken of. They do not identify the man of the water color portrait. An eye of blue that was bright with the gleam of steel and of fire, an eye that penetrated where it fastened its gaze; scant reddish hair and beard, and a complexion of purest Saxon type gave life and energy and vivacity to the subject which cold black print can never portray; and more than all these, there is, too, a certain setting of the jaw which no other portrait suggests. Here in this portrait is seen the man to whom so much of heroism, daring and sacrifice has been attributed. Here can be seen the indomitable will, unconquerable spirit and transcendant genius that was necessary to the accomplishment of the work to which he had dedicated himself. The portrait reveals the physical and native resources he possessed. It cannot reveal the

added mental and scholarly equipment which his "studious habits with book in hand" had furnished him.

He was now twenty-five years of age, in the midst of the comfort and possibilities he has described. He was now a man with all the responsibities of a man. What should be his future? Up to that time he had taken no active part in anti-slavery agitation, nor, so far as it can be learned, had it ever influenced the slightest act of his life. I have referred to his life at Wheeling and in his later years he gave utterance to the reason which prompted his future conduct and controlled his entire career. I quote from his paper, "The Genius of Universal Emancipation," at that time printed in Washington as being the best authority for the reasons that determined him in the change of his entire life. In this journal of November, 1832, he said of Wheeling:

> "That was the place where his youthful eye first caught a view of the 'cursed whip' and the 'hellish manacle'—where he first saw the slaves in chains forced along like brutes to the southern markets for human flesh and blood! Then did his young heart bound within his bosom and his heated blood boil in his veins on seeing droves of a dozen or twenty ragged men chained together and driven through the streets bareheaded and barefooted in sun and snow by the remorseless *'soul sellers'* with horse whips and bludgeons in their hands! It was the frequent repetition of such scenes as these in the town of *Wheeling, Virginia,* that made the impressions on his mind relative to the slave question which have induced him to devote himself to the cause of universal emancipation. During the apprenticeship with a respectable mechanic of that place, he was made acquainted with the cruelties and the despotism of slavery as tolerated in this land; and he made a solemn vow to *Almighty God* that if favored with health and strength, he would break at least one link

of the ponderous chain of oppression, when he should become a man."

He had now become a man. The time is now at hand for the fulfillment of his vow and he says in his autobiography:

> "I had lamented the sad condition of the slave ever since I became acquainted with his wrong and suffering, but the question, what can I do, was the continual response to the impulses of my heart. As I enjoyed no peace of mind, I concluded *I must act,* and shortly after my settlement at St. Clairsville, I called a few friends together and unbosomed myself to them. The result was the organization of an anti-slavery association called the *'Union Humanitarian Society.'* "

The first meeting was held at his home and consisted of six persons. In a few months it had grown to nearly five hundred persons, among whom were the most eminent divines, lawyers and citizens of that state.

He also wrote a circular, dated Jan. 4, 1816, being his twenty-seventh birthday, which was the first definite announcement of a campaign that ended in the overthrow of slavery. This circular is historic. Its first appearance was in five or six copies in manuscript. At the urgent request of friends and of persons from a distance who met at the yearly meeting of the society of Friends at Mt. Pleasant, this paper was printed and circulated on the condition that it should appear with a fictitious signature. This signature was "Philo Justicia." As an introduction, while urging the inadequacy of stopping at the abolition of the African slave trade, when the seeds of the evil system had been sown in our soil and were springing up and producing increase, he proposed:

> First, a society should be formed whenever a number of persons could be induced to join it.
>
> Second, that a title should be adopted common to all the societies.

Third, they should all have a uniform constitution, "varying only on account of necessity arising from location."

Fourth, that a correspondence should be kept up between the societies, that they should co-operate in action, that in case of important business they should choose delegates to meet in general convention.

This plan was practically the same in efficient operation twenty years afterwards when it embraced one thousand anti-slavery societies. At the conclusion of the address, the writer stated that he had the subject long in contemplation and that he had now taken it up fully determined for one, never to lay it down while he breathed, or until the end should be obtained.

This circular, short and simple as it was, is mentioned by Greeley in his "American Conflict" as "containing the germ of the entire anti-slavery movement."

A local newspaper, "The Philanthropist," had been established at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, and its columns were open to the discussion of slavery. Lundy became an interested contributor and soon was invited to take part in its editorial work. Soon his articles were upon the editorial page. While he was at work on his saddler's bench ten miles away, an invitation to become a partner in the business and to remove to Mt. Pleasant was accepted and he proceeded to close out his business for that purpose. In 1819, for the purposes of a better market for his goods, he took the balance of his stock upon a boat, his apprentices plying their trade on board while he steered the boat for St. Louis; unable to sell his stock at St. Louis by reason of financial depression, he rented a shop and boarded himself and his boy apprentices. Missouri was at that time in the turmoil and excitement of a great political campaign and was knocking at the door for admission to the Union. Every spare moment was devoted by Lundy, in person and through newspaper articles, in Missouri and Illinois, to exposing

the evils of slavery. He says, "The contest which was long and severe terminated in our losing the day. * * * * * * * * *" He sold his remaining stock at a ruinous sacrifice and returned home on foot, a journey of seven hundred miles and in the winter season, having been absent a year and ten months.

During his absence, the newspaper had changed hands and was conducted by Elisha Bates, who did not come up to the anti-slavery standards of Lundy. He also learned that Elihu Embree had begun the publication of an anti-slavery paper, "The Emancipator," at Jonesborough, Tennessee. He removed to Mt. Pleasant and began the publication of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation" in January, 1821. The prospectus and first number were published by Elisha Bates. Afterwards the printing was done at Steubenville, Ohio, twenty miles away, Lundy going to and fro on foot carrying his printed papers on his back. In a few months the subscription list was quite large, but after eight monthly issues Lundy started for Tennessee to use the Embree press at Jonesborough, Embree having died. It was a journey of eight hundred miles, half on foot and half by water. There, for the first time, he undertook the printer's art and did the mechanical, as well as editorial, work. After a few months, during which considerable opposition and threats of violence developed, he brought his family to Tennessee and resided there for three years. During this time he attended "The American Convention for the Abolition of Slavery" at Philadelphia, a distance of six hundred miles, going and returning on horseback; he was the first delegate from any part of the country as far south as Tennessee to any anti-slavery meeting. Upon this trip he made the acquaintance of some abolitionists east of the Alleghany mountains. The "Genius of Universal Emancipation" had now obtained a considerable circulation. It was the only anti-slavery paper published in America. He concluded to transfer its publication to one of the Atlantic

states to secure a wider influence and increased support. Arranging his business and shouldering his knapsack, he set out for Baltimore in 1824. On this trip he delivered his first public lecture and embraced every opportunity of obtaining an audience; at house-raisings, musters, and every sort of assembly he urged his cause, and in the state of North Carolina alone, while on this journey, twelve or fourteen anti-slavery societies were organized.

The first Baltimore number of the "Genius" was issued in October, 1824, being No. 1 of Vol. 4, and in about a year the publication was changed from a monthly to a weekly. Meanwhile, his wife and family had been removed from Tennessee to Baltimore. In 1825 he made his first trip to the Island of Haiti to establish there a number of slaves who had been freed, and arrange with the Island Government for any emancipated slaves that might be sent there. Detained longer than he had anticipated, he returned to Baltimore to find his wife dead and his five children scattered among friends. His obituary notice of his wife's death, published in the "Genius" of June 3, 1826, is a most eloquent and touching tribute to her worth. Only a brief quotation can be made, but it is due to this woman that she be credited with her part in his great work. He said of her:

> "Whenever it fell to my lot to be called away from home, she uniformly and cheerfully gave her consent thereto; observing that she could not find a freedom in urging anything as a hinderance to the success of my labor in the cause of philanthropy."

Five children were left motherless, among them twins a few weeks old, and this man, in face of that fact, said:

> "I collected my children together and placed them with friends in whom I could confide and renewed my vow to devote my energy to the cause of the slave until the nation should be effectually aroused in its behalf. I relinquished any prospect of future enjoy-

ment of an earthly home until that object should be accomplished."

The publication of the paper was continued at Baltimore, William Swain being added as assistant editor with Elizabeth Chandler, a poet and author of some distinction; both were converts of his lectures and publications, and it is noteworthy that his efforts produced not only converts but missionaries in his work.

In 1828 a trip was taken to the middle and eastern states for the purposes of lectures and subscriptions. At Philadelphia a meeting was called to consider the use of free labor products, the first meeting of the kind ever held in America. This would indicate his intellectual grasp and his conception of the power of a modified boycott, an elaboration of which has become so prominent in the later stages of our national development. It was upon this trip that he met at Boston William Lloyd Garrison, who had not yet turned his attention to the slavery question. They met at a boarding house with eight clergymen of various denominations. The ministers all approved of the work and became subscribers to the "Genius." Garrison also expressed approval of his doctrines. He was at that time the editor of the "National Philanthropist," the first total abstinence sheet in the world. Truly, here was a scene worthy the brush of the artist. This, in a way, accidental meeting, in an obscure boarding house in Boston between Benjamin Lundy and William Lloyd Garrison—the little deaf Quaker and the near-sighted Baptist who was to become the foremost type of militant warfare in the cause he then espoused. "The Signing of the Compact," and "The Landing of the Mayflower" have been immortalized upon the canvas and form two of our great historic pictures; yet neither of these events was more significant than the one we mention. Here awakened into vitality the conscience and co-operation of the man who was to assume such prominence in the final overthrow of slavery. Lundy's word had been good seed and it had fallen upon good ground. The mild

Quaker had lighted a flame that was never extinguished. The history of abolitionism shows us two fire-brands, John Brown and William Lloyd Garrison. But Garrison was the first and more significant influence and, it is more than likely, was responsible for the attitude of the other.

In November, 1828, Lundy again visited Boston and invited Garrison to assist him in editing the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," but the latter was at that time editing a paper in Vermont from which he could not free himself. Meanwhile the paper was successfully published and free produce stores were opened in Baltimore and Philadelphia where nothing but the product of slave labor was handled. The editorial position was full of dangers. A single example will suffice to illustrate them:

> "There was in Baltimore a slave-trader by the name of Austin Woolfolk, notorious for the heartless brutality with which he carried on his wretched business. He sent a gang of twenty-nine slaves on a boat to Georgia. When at sea the slaves rose for their liberty, murdered the captain and mate, reached New York City and escaped—all except one who was caught and hung. When led to the place of execution, the condemned negro, according to the custom of those days, was allowed to make some remarks expressing his penitence. Woolfolk, who was present, interrupted the unfortunate man with oaths and abusive language and would not desist until compelled to do so by the indignant spectators. An account of this disgusting spectacle was published in the New York Christian Inquirer; and reprinted by Lundy in the "Genius."
>
> Soon after this, Woolfolk met Lundy near the post office in Baltimore, caught him by the throat, threw him upon the pavement, choked him until he was nearly unconscious, and then stamped on his head and face with the heel of his boot. Woolfolk was arrested and tried for assault and battery. The jury found Woolfolk guilty; and the judge, in whose dis-

> cretion the penalty was, sentenced him to pay a fine of one dollar. The judge said from the bench that Lundy got nothing more than he deserved, and he took the copy of the "Genius" containing the objectionable article and sent it to the grand jury charging them to indict Lundy for libel, which they refused to do.'

In the spring of 1829 another trip was made to Haiti with a small colony of emancipated slaves and leases of land obtained for them on easy terms. Upon his return in September, 1829, Lundy announced in the "Genius" the association of Garrison in its editorship. This move was not a fortunate one. Garrison espoused the cause of Henry Clay against Jackson, while Lundy had no confidence in Clay upon the slavery question. Subscriptions fell off when politics and sectarianism supplanted in any degree the question for which Lundy alone stood. Garrison, moreover, did not possess the gift of using strong language just outside the law of libel that Lundy had, and was soon behind grates and bars and obliged to pay a fine, money for which was obtained in New York by Lundy. Lundy himself was in turn arrested as co-editor and imprisoned for several days. The particulars of this incident are told in the Life of Garrison, and of the time he was in jail, which was forty-nine days, he says:

> "The sun itself was not more regular day by day during that period in visiting my cell with its cheering light than was my friend Lundy. His sympathy, kindness and attention were all that a brother could show."

The partnership was a short one. This plan of the two joining to shake the sleepy nation to consciousness had to be abandoned. Garrison went to Boston with the inspiration of a Baltimore jail upon him, most terribly in earnest, an intellectual and moral lion aroused to work in his own way in the path laid out for him. Lundy was left to plod his accustomed way alone. At this point, for

the first time, Lundy, in his paper, the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," after regretting the loss of the help of his friend, states his own case and it were well to perpetuate it here:

> "Nine years have nearly elapsed since this work first made its appearance. During that period I have witnessed many vicissitudes in the affairs of life; have experienced something of the fickleness of fortune and a good share of what the world calls hardship and privation."

Then he tells of the great difficulties he encountered in getting out his monthly paper, his desires to publish it weekly, his hopes of the future, his patience and unflinching determination shown in every line. He goes on:

> "I do not wish to speak boastingly of what I have done or essayed to do in advocating the question of African emancipation, and I detest the idea of making a cringing appeal to the public for aid in my undertakings. I am willing to work, and can support myself and family by my own labor. But, after ten years' struggle to promote the cause to the best of my humble abilities and in every possible manner, it may not be amiss to inform those who take an interest in this publication that I have. within the period above mentioned, sacrificed several thousand dollars of my own hard earnings; have traveled upward of 5,000 miles on foot, and more than 20,000 in other ways; have visited nineteen of the States of this Union, and held more than 200 public meetings, with the view of making known our object, etc., and. in addition to this, have performed two voyages to the West Indies, by which means the liberation of a considerable number of slaves has been effected, and, I hope, the way paved for the enlargement of many more. What effect this work has had in turning the attention of the public to the subject of the abolition of slavery, it would not become me to say. * * * * *

> There is not another periodical work published by a citizen of the United States, whose conductor dare treat upon the subject of slavery as its nature requires and its importance demands, and, viewing the matter in this light, I shall persevere in my efforts, as usual, while the means of doing it are afforded, or until more efficient advocates of the cause shall make themselves known."

In resuming control of the paper, Lundy announced that the "Genius" would hereafter treat exclusively upon the subject of emancipation. The paper had now fallen upon evil days. Subscriptions failed and it was changed from a weekly to a monthly sheet. It soon became necessary for Lundy himself to leave Baltimore and the "Genius" was moved to Washington and that city became the nominal place of its publication. It also became necessary for Lundy to travel to secure subscriptions, leaving the paper in the hands of a temporary editor. A few numbers would be published and then publication cease for lack of funds. Lundy, hearing of this, would prepare manuscript on the road and print the next number where he happened to be. He could secure a printing press at almost any point. The type he found it more convenient to carry with him, possibly upon his back.

The founding of Garrison's "Liberator" in Massachusetts, the breaking out of the "Nat Turner Rebellion" in Virginia assisted to hasten the failure of the "Genius." The one, although working along the same lines, was necessarily to some extent a rival, and the Turner outbreak was fatal to all abolition societies of the south which furnished many subscribers. The story of the "Genius of Universal Emancipation" is now shortly told. Removed to Washington in 1830, it was printed there until 1834, sometimes consecutively for months, when it made its last removal to Philadelphia, expiring there in 1838 amid the flames of Pennsylvania Hall, which was burned by a mob in June of that year.

Just a word as to its appearance. I quote from the words of Mr. Z. Eastman, who was with Lundy at Lowell, Illinois, at the time of his death, in the capacity of printer and assistant editor:

> "I well remember the editorial "Vignette." It seemed to have been quite a pet of Mr. Lundy's. I think it was of his own designing. It was not quite clear to me what truth was to be inferred from it. Mr. Lundy once explained it minutely. It represented a scene in a garden. There was in the back ground a sort of miniature square tower with a seat at the bottom. There was nothing in this country like it. Over it were trailing vines. Nearby, dragging a chain and holding a spade in hand, was a white man with depressed appearance. By his side stands a man, possibly putting some question to the slave held by the chain. He looks like a philosopher or Doctor of Divinity, it is impossible to tell which. He is evidently inquiring of this white slave, 'Why is this.' It was not a strange question if our own color were in that condition. Mr. Lundy would have had it asked, even of the black man also doomed to drag the ball and chain. Mr. Lundy's paper, besides that piercing motto, 'Justicia fiat, ruat coelum,' also carried on its front this motto, 'We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, in which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.' "

The historical value of Lundy's paper, beginning in 1821, and practically ending in 1830-34, can hardly be estimated. It is the repository of all plans for the abolition of slavery, of all laws, opinions, arguments, essays, speeches, poems, views, statistics, constitutions of societies, manumissions, congressional proceedings, book notices, pamphlets, colonization efforts, political movements, in short, it included everything that could throw

light upon or affect the question of slavery here or elsewhere. It had taken part in the historic campaign of 1824 in Illinois, where an attempt was made to fasten slavery upon this state and was a factor in what was, everything considered, the hardest fought political campaign ever waged in Illinois. Speaking of this campaign through newspaper and pamphlets widely disseminated, I have before me a pamphlet called "Impartial appeal to the reason, justice and patriotism of the people of Illinois and the injurious effects of slave labor." This little brochure, published annonymously in Philadelphia and used in the Illinois campaign, bears every token of being the work of Benjamin Lundy. It applies to the economic side of the question and repeats many arguments, purely his, found elsewhere. It is noteworthy as bearing upon our subject that it was reprinted in London and used in connection with the struggle for the abolishment of slavery in the West Indies, and I found the little book in London. So we may well claim that this humble Quaker contributed also to that work in no small degree.

Time forbids to speak of the literary character of the "Genius," its trenchant English, modes of emphasis and telling invective. With but the scanty preparation spoken of at the outset, Lundy became a great master of English in both style and expression, nor was he lacking in sentiment and poetry. Let me quote a single verse, being one of a number sent his sister after informing her of the birth of his second daughter and their decision to call her Elizabeth:

"Here let me pause, the Muse in accent clear
Repeats the name that memory holds most dear;
My mother, it was thine—blest spirit see
Thy son, thy only son, remembers thee."

Leaving for a time his journalistic work, permit me to call your attention to another phase of his many-sided plans for abolition. I have suggested the two trips to Haiti, each time with a number of slaves that he located there. Lundy was unique as an abolitionist in this. He

was willing to do for the time being the *best* that *could* be done. Garrison had the one idea of immediate emancipation, so had Goodell. Lundy possessed that idea with equal fervidness, but pending its success wished to have *something* done and that without delay. With this thought in mind he sought to colonize emancipated slaves and free blacks upon territory contiguous to the United States, and upon lands which were not only to provide for them a home, and comply with some state laws as to voluntary emancipation, but would furnish a concrete illustration of the safety and profitableness of the "Emancipation on the Soil" theory. With this in mind he made two journeys to Texas, then a part of Mexico, the first in 1830-31, beginning in the winter. A large portion of a biography published by his children, in 1847, is taken up with the account of these trips. He says of them. "My labors were most arduous." The story is one of poverty, privation and danger; at times in disguise; cholera raging everywhere, working at his trade to get the means for a scanty livelihood; when this did not offer, in making suspenders and shot pouches for those who would buy. The purpose of this trip was to establish a settlement of colored people in Texas with the view of the cultivation of sugar, cotton and rice by free labor. The first trip lasted eighteen months and involved much diplomacy with the Mexican government to obtain the land, but owing to disturbing conditions it was without avail and he returned home in 1833. In May, 1834, he again started on a similar errand, this time not disguising his name, and several times nearly lost his life. In October of that year sorry times certainly were upon him. His notes in his journal of October 7th show that he had spent his last cent for provisions and was reading the "Letters of Junius" to beguile his thoughts. On the 15th of October he writes, "That I must move in some direction shortly even if I must as a last resort, fast, beg or starve." His narrative as a whole shows close habits of observation, unbounded resource and diplomacy in approaching the

authorities seeking the grant of land. In this quest he was successful and obtained from the government of Taumaulipas a grant of 138,000 acres of land, conditioned upon introducing two hundred and fifty settlers with their families. This grant, however, came to naught, by reason of the revolution in Texas which followed and the years of privation and absence went for nothing. It did accomplish, however, in another way a great and telling result.

Better than any other American, Lundy had become acquainted with the Texan country. He knew its extent and the number and kind of its inhabitants and it was he who furnished to John Quincy Adams the facts upon which the sturdy fight was made in the United States Congress against the admission of Texas and the subsequent acts that led to the war with Mexico. It is not a part of our theme to discuss what part in this war with Mexico the question of slavery played, but this may be said, that no one person did more to furnish the opponents of slavery with weapons against the admission of Texas or the war with Mexico, than he.

A pamphlet issued in 1836, of sixty-four double columns printed in small type, reveals him in the fullness of his intellectual activity and development. It was entitled, "War in Texas, a Review of Facts and Circumstances, Showing that this Contest is a Crusade against Mexico, Set on Foot and Supported by Slave Holders, Land Speculators, etc., in Order to Re-establish, Re-extend and Perpetuate the System of Slavery and Slave Trade." It was signed by "A Citizen of the United States." This pamphlet is a masterly review of the situation from the standpoint of those opposed to the acquisition of Texas to become a part of the United States. It is a scathing arraignment of all engaged either in the conquest of Texas or its admission to the Union; brims with quotations from southern journals, and southern speeches to make clear his claim of conspiracy, all presented in a forceful and convincing way; it furnished to John Quincy

Adams the material upon which he based his opposition in Congress to the admission of Texas as a state, and did no other writing of his exist this pamphlet would distinguish Mr. Lundy not only as a consecrated and determined missionary, but as a master of polemic literature, inferior to none of his day. The struggle was not successful; the enemy was too strong and too well entrenched, but the admission of Texas was delayed for years thereby and opportunity given to strengthen the abolition forces against the greater conflict now inevitable and almost in sight. May I place upon your records the concluding paragraphs of this great pamphlet which I do not find to have been quoted elsewhere.

> "Our countrymen in fighting for the union of Texas with the United States will be fighting for that which at no distant day will inevitably *dissolve the Union.* The slave states having the eligible addition to their land of bondage, will ere long cut asunder the Federal tie and confederate a new and slave holding Republic in opposition to the whole free Republic of the north. Thus early will be fulfilled the prediction of the old politicians of Europe that our Union could not remain one century entire; and then also will the maxim be exemplified in history that liberty and slavery can not long inhabit the same soil.
>
> Citizens of the free states—Are you prepared to sanction the acts of such freebooters and usurpers? Nay, more: Are you willing to be *made the instruments* of these wanton aggressors, in effecting their unholy purposes, and thus not only excite the sympathizing maledictions of other human powers, but also invoke the awful judgments of Heaven against you? Some of our wisest statesmen have spoken out, in condemnation of their deeds; and the patriotic conductors of the Press are likewise beginning to awaken the public attention to them.
>
> You see that they are now fully resolved to make a speedy application to Congress, for the incorpora-

tion of the government which they have thus assumed into the confederation of the United States. This will be attempted the very moment that an opportunity is presented. *People of the north! Will you permit it?* Will you sanction the abominable outrage; involve yourselves in the deep criminality, and perhaps the horrors of war, *for the establishment of slavery in a land of freedom;* and thus put your necks and the necks of your posterity under the feet of the domineering tyrants of the South, for centuries to come? The great moral and political campaign is now fairly opened. Your government has fully espoused the cause of these land-pirates and free-booters. Can you still remain silent, and thus lend your sanction to the unparalleled and Heaven daring usurpation? With deep anxiety, I await your response; and trust it will come in the loudest tones of a thundering *Negative,* resounding o'er your granite mountains, and echoing through every valley north of 'Mason and Dixon's Line.'

You have been warned, again and again, of the deep machinations, and the wicked aggressive policy of this despotic *'Slave-holding Party.'* I have unfolded its marauding designs, and pointed out its varied plans and movements. You would not listen to those earnest entreaties and admonitions. You have slumbered in the arms of political harlots, until they have nearly shorn you of your locks, and bound you with the bloody cords prepared by the Philistine horde of tyrannical desperadoes. Arise! *Arise quickly!* and burst those bands, or your doom, with that of your posterity, is sealed perhaps forever!"

Let me call especial attention to the prophecy of a "dissolution of the Union" and the confederation of a new and slave holding Republic. I know of no earlier prophecy and it is noteworthy that when formed, it is called the confederacy.

I have gathered the story of this man largely from the diary he kept. He seeks there to prepare for himself no page in history. It is the simple story of resolve, effort and accomplishment. But he has a permanent place in history and may I be allowed to record a few brief extracts from various tributes to him.

"Any one who will examine John Quincy Adams's speech on Texas, in 1838, will see that he was only seconding the full and able exposure of the Texas plot, prepared by Benjamin Lundy, to one of whose pamphlets Dr. Channing in his 'Letter to Henry Clay' has confessed his obligation. Every one acquainted with those years will allow that the North owes its earliest knowledge and first awakening on that subject to Mr. Lundy who made long journeys and devoted years to the investigation. His (Lundy's) labors have this attestation that they quickened the zeal and strengthened the hands of such men as Adams and Channing. I have been told that Mr. Lundy prepared a brief for Mr. Adams and furnished him the materials for his 'Speech on Texas.'"

Speech of Wendell Phillips, Boston, Jan. 27, 1853.

"The immediate precursor and in a certain sense the founder of abolitionism was Benjamin Lundy, a Quaker born in New Jersey. * * * * * * * * * In 1821 he began to publish the 'Genius of Universal Emancipation,' which is to be considered the first abolition organ. * * * * * * * The Nineteenth Century can scarcely point to another instance in which the commandment of Christ to 'leave all things and follow Him' was so literally construed. * * *"

Von Holst's History of the United States, Vol. 2, pages 81-82.

"Nor is that pioneer of freedom, Benjamin Lundy, to be forgotten. It was his lot to struggle for years almost alone, a solitary voice crying in the wilder-

ness, poor, unaided, yet never despairing, traversing the Island of Haiti, wasting with disease in New Orleans, hunted by Texan banditti, wandering on foot among the countains of East Tennessee and along the Ozark Hills, beaten down and trampled on by Baltimore slave dealers; yet amidst all, faithful to his one great purpose, the emancipation of the slaves and the protection of the free people of color. To him we owe under Providence the enlistment of William Lloyd Garrison in the service which he has so nobly performed."

Letter of John G. Whittier, dated Amesbury, Massachusetts, March, 1874.

"I trust that the memory and labors of Benjamin Lundy will be especially remembered and honored at this reunion gathering. To him I owe my connection with the cause of emancipation, as he was the first to call my attention to it, and by his pressing invitation to me to join him at printing and editing the 'Genius of Universal Emancipation' at Baltimore, he shaped my destiny for the remainder of my life."

Letter of William Lloyd Garrison to Eastman, March, 1874.

More than five pages of Greeley's "American Conflict" are devoted to the life and service of Mr. Lundy and he concludes with these fitting words:

"Thus closed the record of one of the most heroic, devoted, unselfish lives that has ever been lived on this continent."

The American Conflict, pages 111-115.

Mr. Garrison writes, in the "Journal of the Times," Burlington, Vermont, Dec. 12, 1828:

"Instead of being able to withstand the tide of public opinion, it would seem at first doubtful whether he could sustain a temporary conflict with the winds of Heaven. And, yet, he has explored nineteen states

out of the twenty-four, from the green mountains of Vermont to the banks of the Mississippi, multiplying anti-slavery societies in every quarter, putting every petition in motion relative to the extinction of slavery in the District of Columbia, everywhere awakening the slumbering sympathies of the people and beginning a work, the completion of which will be the salvation of his country. His heart is of gigantic size. Every inch of him is alive with power. He combines the meekness of Howard and the boldness of Luther. No reformer was ever more devoted, zealous, persevering or sanguine. He has fought single-handed against a host without missing a blow or faltering a moment, but his forces are rapidly gathering and he will yet save our land. It should be mentioned, too, that he has sacrificed several thousand dollars in this holy cause, accumulated by unceasing industry. Yet he makes no public appeal, but goes forward in the quietude and resolution of his spirit, husbanding his little resources from town to town and from state to state. He said to me some months ago, 'I would not exchange my circumstances with any person on earth if I thereby must relinquish the cause in which I am enlisted.' Within a few months he has traveled 2,400 miles, of which upwards of 1,600 have been on foot, during which time he has held nearly 500 public meetings. Rivers and mountains vanish in his path. Midnight finds him on his solitary way over an unfrequented road. The sun is anticipated in his rising. Never was a moral sublimity better illustrated."

But I must hasten to the conclusion of this eventful life. He had, following the assassination of Lovejoy, determined to move to Illinois and print an abolition paper here if it led to a bloody grave. His little property consisting of books, papers and Quaker clothing, and a complete file of his "Genius of Universal Emancipation" were, preparatory to his departure, stored in "Pennsyl-

vania Hall," a building erected for the cause of freedom at Philadelphia. On May 17, 1838, it was destroyed by the torch of a mob and all of his property, with the brain work of twenty years, went up in flames.

In July he started for Illinois and planned to re-establish the "Genius" here. His relatives lived at Magnolia, in Putnam county, and he selected Hennepin, the county seat, as his place of publication. The paper was dated at Hennepin, but printed at Lowell, where some friends had purchased an old press and worn out type. Lowell was then a city of the future, with a large stone mill in process of erection, with city lots to sell and some to give away. Now scarce a vestige remains at the place. The paper was mailed at Vermilionville, across the Vermilion river, and not far away. A building 12 feet square was the printing office and a two room house just behind was the dwelling. The twins, now twelve years old, were with him and his daughter Esther was his little housekeeper. In the spring of 1839 three or four issues were printed. John Lovejoy, a brother of the martyr, came to his assistance as a helper, but he was not a printer. In the spring of 1839 Mr. Z. Eastman, a printer, joined him and may I use his words in describing the end:

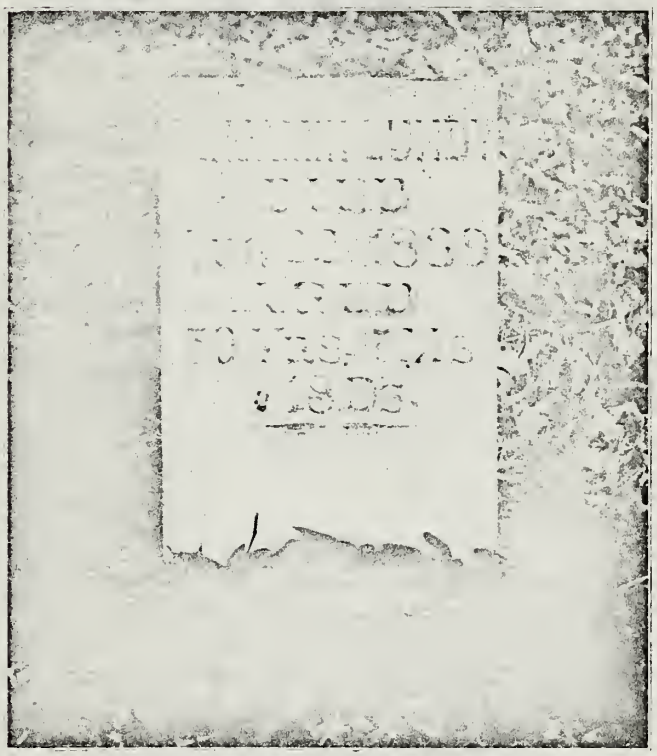
> "We all worked in that little office for a few weeks. Lundy seemed very happy. He had some confidential talk with me, when I told him it would become necessary for me soon to return to the East. He spoke of dividing with me his town lots in Lowell, and of giving me a share of the broad prairie on which he had squatted; but the proposition did not seem flattering. He was taken ill a day or two after; he wrote a sentence as an apology for lack of editorial, in which he said, 'We shall soon be better.' He went to his bed at the tavern the next day, and the day following, about 11 o'clock at night, being told by the physician that he was near his end, stated that he felt perfectly easy, and in a few minutes fell into a sweet sleep, that of a child pillowed upon its

mother's bosom; but it was his last sleep. I saw that peaceful death. I wrote the obituary notice that appeared in the same paper with his last editorial words, in which he said he should soon be better. His friends, without display, in the simple, plain style of their religious faith, carried him away, for burial. I supose no colored man in this world knows where they laid him."

The last statement is not true certainly at this day. Last summer my wife and I drove to the little cemetery in a car driven by a negro chauffeur. We stood at the grave of Lundy and it occurred to us that it would be a matter of interest to the colored man to see the grave of the man who struck the first blow for the freedom of his race. We called him to the spot and told him in a few words of the man who lay buried there. I have spoken of the wealth of myrtle upon the grave, and I saw the young negro quietly place some sprigs of it in his purse. I asked him what he wanted to do with them. He replied that he wanted to send them to his sister at Tuskegee. Then I thought, Oh that the man who lay so quietly there could see this act, could know that from his grave, perhaps from his very bones, had sprung the tokens that carried a brother's message to the negro in his better estate, with the opportunities at hand for which he had lived and suffered and died. Surely if that message wrought its perfect work, it would tell to that people, to whom his life had opened such opportunity, of the heroic self-sacrifice that had made freedom and opportunity possible to them.

He, like Moses, did not live to enter the promised land, but the people for whom he labored have entered into it.

May I not fittingly close this address by quoting the last verse of Mrs. Alexander's poem with which I began:



Grave of Benjamin Lundy.

"O lonely tomb in Moab's land;
O dark Beth-peor's hill!
Speak to these curious hearts of ours,
And teach them to be still.
God hath His mysteries of grace,—
Ways that we cannot tell;
He hides them deep, like the secret sleep
Of him He loved so well."

THE PLANS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CARE OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES.

By Evarts Boutell Greene.

The Illinois State Historical Society is, by the provisions of various acts of the General Assembly, placed substantially in the position of a State Department of History. In the exercise of this responsibility, it is, like other State departments, very largely dependent upon the support which it is able to secure from an intelligent public opinion. I desire, therefore, to ask your attention, as members of the State Historical Society and as citizens, for a brief account of the work which the Trustees of the State Historical Library are trying to do.

The first and most familiar business of the Library Board is the collection of material for the history of Illinois. These materials are partly printed books, especially the documents in which we get our first hand evidence for the establishment of historical facts. The Library, must also, however, collect that large mass of historical material which has not yet been printed but which is to be found in the State and federal archives of the United States, and in the great public collections of those European powers which have had a part in the colonization of the New World. There is, of course, also much valuable manuscript material in private possession, such as the personal correspondence of men who have been leaders in politics, religion or industry. Sometimes the Library acquires the original material as in the case of the Lincoln manuscripts, or such a collection as the Pierre Menard Papers now being repaired and bound. In many cases, however, the original manuscripts themselves can not be secured and we must content ourselves

with copies. The Library has, within recent years, secured a large number of transcripts of papers in America and abroad relating to the history of Illinois and the Northwest in general. In other cases where it is not even practicable to secure copies, the Library has undertaken, either independently or in co-operation with others, the preparation of calendars or inventories which will enable the student to know the exact nature of the material to be found in any given place. For instance, the Trustees of the State Historical Library have recently agreed to co-operate with other historical agencies in the Mississippi Valley in the preparation of a calendar of the documents in the French Archives relating to the discovery and exploration of the Mississippi Valley.

Besides collecting books and manuscripts, the State Historical Library is also charged with the duty of publishing historical documents. In the opinion of the Trustees, the Library publications should. for the present at least, consist mainly of the original documents rather than of historical essays or monographs. It will be quite evident to any one who studies the matter seriously that our State and local histories will never be satisfactory until the original documents have been printed on a much larger scale than has been possible hitherto. Most historians have contented themselves with copying each other, that is to say. they have been willing to accept hearsay evidence. The true historian, however, like the judge or the lawyer, seeks for first hand evidence. That is what the historian means by going to the sources, and it is only by this going to the sources that real progress in historical knowledge is possible. On the basis of the material thus made accessible through publication, we may expect the members of this Society and other students gradually to build up a history of Illinois really worthy of the achievements of her people.

The results of this work of publication by the Library proper as distinguished from the State Historical Society,

are to be seen chiefly in the volumes of the Illinois Historical Collections of which the first volume, edited by Hon. H. W. Beckwith, was issued in 1903. Since then there have appeared volumes on the Cahokia and Kaskaskia records, edited by Professor C. W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, and throwing a flood of light on the life of the old French villages in the Illinois country; two volumes of Governor's Letter-Books to the year 1853; and a valuable bibliography of Illinois newspapers. There are now nearly ready for issue three other important volumes. The first of these, edited by Professor J. A. James of Northwestern University, will be the first volume in what is likely to prove the definitive edition of the papers of George Rogers Clark;[1] a second of these publications will contain a bibliography of works of travel relating to Illinois, prepared by Dr. S. J. Buck of the University of Illinois; and a third also nearly ready for the press will contain correspondence of the famous trader, George Morgan, and other material for the history of Illinois during the British period, collected and edited by Professors Alvord and Carter.

Besides building up the Library and publishing historical documents, the Trustees have recently interested themselves in another important field of work, namely the care of public archives. The last General Assembly made an appropriation of $2,500 for the purpose of securing an inspection of county and other local archives under the direction of the Library Board. By means of this grant, the Board has been enabled to employ agents who have inspected the archives of more than seventy counties. A careful card catalogue of the series of records found in these various depositories has been prepared and is now in the possession of the State Historical Library. It has been found that though some counties have provided adequately for the preservation of their records, others are exposing valuable documents to the

[1] Since the presentation of this paper, this volume has been published.

danger of loss by fire or otherwise. It is evident that the birth and death records of many counties are very incomplete and the same is true of marriages. Another unfortunate feature of our local records, though not of course at all peculiar to Illinois is the failure to exercise proper care in the use of paper and ink with the result that records of real importance are often kept on perishable material.

The Trustees have recommended that this appropriation be renewed in order that the records of the remaining counties and of the more important cities and towns may be investigated, and the results published. It is proposed to include in this final report an account of what has been done by other states for the improvement of local archives, and some proposals for legislation with a view to securing better standards in these matters. It is believed that the importance of an orderly keeping of public archives will be appreciated not only by historical students but quite as much by that large body of practical men, lawyers, business men, land owners and others, who have a direct interest in the accurate keeping of legal records.

Though a few of the oldest and most valuable historical records may, in accordance with the provisions of an existing law, be transferred from local archives to the State Historical Library and should so far as practicable be so transferred, it is evident that the great bulk of this material must always remain in the possession of the local authorities. On the other hand, the public archives of the State must always be gathered at the capital. At present these records are in the possession of the various departments of the State government of which the most important for this purpose is the office of the Secretary of State. It has been evident for a long time that it is difficult for the departments, burdened as they necessarily are, with the demands of current business, to find adequate storage and filing arrangements for the older records.

In many cases, records of great value for the history of the State have been distributed in inconvenient and unsafe parts of the Capitol building, where they are exposed to partial or complete loss by dirt, dampness, and other causes. It must be remembered also that the capitol building is not fire-proof and that we are in constant danger of a fire like that in Albany which destroyed immense masses of valuable historical manuscripts which can never be replaced.[2] Can we as citizens of Illinois afford to take that risk? Can we consider ourselves really loyal to our great traditions if we neglect to preserve the records of those who have gone before us?

It is the opinion of the Library Board that, as soon as possible, the Legislature should provide a suitable structure for housing that part of the public archives which is not needed for the transaction of current business. With the approval of the Governor, an inspection of the archives was made in 1912 by Mr. W. G. Leland, an expert archivist. Mr. Leland prepared a valuable statement which is to be included in the forthcoming report of the Educational Building Commission. In this report it is clearly shown that the collection of historical material from the various departments will be of advantage not only to investigators, but to the departments themselves by relieving the latter of the responsibility for taking care of documents no longer used in the actual transaction of business, thus enabling them to provide more adequate space for their current files. The testimony of State officials in the neighboring state of Iowa where the experiment has been tried seems to show that it is working well. In response to my inquiry, Hon. W. C. Hayward, Secretary of State of Iowa wrote in February, 1912, as follows:

"In reference to this I will say briefly that I am of the opinion that the action of the General Assembly in

[2] See for a comprehensive account of the condition of the Illinois archives, Alvord and Pease, The Archives of the State of Illinois, American Hist. Assn. Annual Report 1909, pp. 383-463.

establishing this department was wise and well taken. The vaults of the various departments of state were becoming well filled with papers and documents worthy of preservation, but not catalogued nor indexed as they should be to be of ready reference and the room they occupied was being needed for papers and documents of later date. Under proper classification and index in the archives department, they are in shape for ready reference and in a great many cases these documents are of no small value, not only in a historical way, but in settling questions that arise from time to time. In turning over the old papers and documents that occupied the vault in this department there has been no inconvenience arising whatever. If it is desired to look up some matter pertaining to transactions that occurred a long while ago, it is less trouble to find the desired papers in the archives department than it would be if they had been left here; then it gives more room, which was much needed for filing away papers and documents that are accumulating day by day. I do not know of any friction whatsoever between the archives department and any of the departments of state. I am sure it is proving a great convenience and will be of growing value as the years go by."

Now it is true that at present we are not alone in our failure to face this problem squarely. There is hardly a state in the Union which is doing any thing like its duty in this respect, if we compare their practice with that of the best European archives. Even the government at Washington has been a serious offender. In a recent article in the American Historical Review, on "The National Archives," Mr. Waldo G. Leland points out that many of our national records are in the most undignified and unsuitable places "in cellars and sub-cellars, and under terraces, in attics and over porticos, in corridors and closed-up doorways, piled in heaps upon the floor, or crowded into alcoves" or worse still, "farmed out and stored in such rented structures as abandoned car barns, storage warehouses, deserted theaters, or ancient but

more humble edifices that should long ago have served their last useful purpose."[3] But better standards are coming. In the closing hours of the last session of Congress, the Omnibus Public Building Act was passed with provisions looking toward the erection of a National Archive building in the city of Washington. The Secretary of the Treasury was directed, "after inspection of the best modern national archive buildings in Europe, and consultation with the best authorities there, to prepare designs and estimates for a fire-proof building containing not less than three million cubic feet of space, upon a lot of land large enough to contain ultimately a building three times that size."[4]

Several of the states are moving in a similar direction. What sort of a place is Illinois going to have in this movement towards decency and order in the care of public records? It is very well to talk about patriotic respect for the memory of our fathers who made the State what it is today. But do we really care? If we do, it is time for something better than sentimental speeches; it is time we passed from words to action.

Now just what can we do, what is really practicable under existing conditions? The ideal thing would be a building devoted to the historical interests alone, including the library now disgracefully over-crowded, the society and a suitable hall of archives. To such a hall of archives, under the management of an expert and practical archivist should be transferred, *with the approval in each case of the head of the department concerned,* the kinds of material in the various departments which are no longer needed in the transaction of current business and which, not being used, may be a positive inconvenience to the men who have to meet the practical demands of the public from day to day. Under competent management many papers so transferred will be made for the first time

[3] American Historical Review, Oct., 1912.
[4] Ibid., April, 1913.

readily accessible to historical scholars and to many others whose interests are purely practical.

If, as it now appears, we can not secure this ideal arrangement, then let us try to complete by the year 1918, which will be the centennial of the admission of Illinois to the Union, an educational building which shall provide not only for the archives and for our historical interests generally, but also for the department of education and for the scientific collections now in the museum. How can we better mark the progress of the State in civilization than by such a monument as this? It is by our failure or success in meeting such responsibilities that our standing as a civilized community will in a large measure be judged. Shall we lead the line of march or shall we struggle to the rear?

LETTER OF E. B. WASHBURNE TO JOHN DIXON

(Letter from E. B. Washburne[1] to John Dixon. At the time the letter was written Mr. Washburne was Minister to France and previously had been Secretary of State and was from 1853 to 1869 Member of Congress from Illinois. Contributed by Mr. Henry S. Dixon, grandson of John Dixon.)

PARIS, December 15, 1874.

MR. JOHN DIXON,[2]

MY DEAR FRIEND:—

A few days ago I received a letter from Mr. Camp from whom I was pleased to learn that although you had passed your ninetieth year you continued to have excellent health and that you are in the enjoyment of your

[1] Elihu Benjamin Washburne, congressman and diplomatist, was born at Livermore, Maine, September 23, 1816; in early life he learned the trade of a printer, but graduated from Harvard law school and was admitted to the bar in 1840. Coming west he settled at Galena, forming a partnership with Charles S. Hempstead for the practice of law in 1841. He was a stalwart Whig, and as such, was elected to Congress in 1852. He continued to represent his district until 1869, taking a prominent position, as a Republican, on the organization of that party. On account of his long service he was known as the "Father of the House," administering the Speaker's oath three times to Schuyler Colfax and once to James G. Blaine. He was appointed Secretary of State by General Grant in 1869, but surrendered his portfolio to become envoy to France, in which capacity he achieved great distinction. He was the only official representative of a foreign government who remained in Paris during the siege of that city by the Germans (1870-71) and the reign of the "Commune." For his conduct he was honored by the governments of France and Germany alike. On his return to the United States he made his home in Chicago, where he devoted his latter years chiefly to literary labor, and where he died, October 22, 1887. He was strongly favored as a candidate for the presidency in 1880.

[2] John Dixon, pioneer—the first white settler in Lee county, Illinois, was born at Rye, Westchester county, N. Y., October 9, 1784; at 21, he removed to New York City. In 1820 he set out with his family for the west, traveling by land to Pittsburg, and thence by flat-boat to Shawneetown. Having disembarked his horses and goods there, he pushed out towards the northwest, passing the vicinity of Springfield, and finally locating on Fancy Creek, some nine miles north of the present site of that city. Here he remained some five years, in that time serving as

usual mental vigor. You must be very nearly the age of my father. He was ninety years old the 18th of last month. Not so fortunate as yourself, his sight and hearing are both impaired, but happily his faculties of mind are not affected and his bodily health is good. He is passing a happy old age in Livermore among the hills of Maine and in the "spot where I was born" enjoying the affection of his children and the respect of the people among whom he has lived for nearly three-quarters of a century. Like yourself he keeps up his interest in public affairs and is thoroughly posted in political matters. During his whole life he has always taken the greatest interest in politics. He represented my native town of Livermore, then in the "district of Maine," in the Great and General Court of Massachusetts several years before I was born when Timothy Bigelow was Speaker and Ben Russell Editor of the Old Boston Sentinel. You and my father are links connecting us with the earliest days of the republic. You were both born in the time of the old rickety confederation and before the adoption of the con-

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foreman of the first Sangamon county grand jury. The new county of Peoria having been established in 1825, he was offered and accepted the appointment of circuit clerk, removing to Fort Clark, as Peoria was then called. Later he became contractor for carrying the mail on the newly established route between Peoria and Galena. Compelled to provide means for crossing Rock river, he induced a French and Indian half breed, named Ogee, to take charge of a ferry at a point afterwards known as Ogee's ferry. The tide of travel to the lead mine region caused both the mail route and ferry to prove profitable, and, as the half-breed ferryman could not stand prosperity, Mr. Dixon was forced to buy him out, removing his family to this point in April, 1830. Here he established friendly relations with the Indians, and, during the Black Hawk war, two years later, was enabled to render valuable service to the State. His station was for many years one of the most important points in northern Illinois, and among the men of national reputation who were entertained at different times at his home may be named Gen. Zachary Taylor, Albert Sidney Johnston, Gen. Winfield Scott, Jefferson Davis, Col. Robert Anderson, Abraham Lincoln, Col. E. D. Baker and many more. He bought the land where Dixon now stands in 1835 and laid off the town; in 1838 was elected by the Legislature a member of the Board of Public Works, and in 1840 secured the removal of the land office from Galena to Dixon. Col. Dixon was a delegate from Lee county to the Republican State Convention at Bloomington in May, 1856, and, although then considerably over 70 years of age, spoke from the same stand with Abraham Lincoln, his presence producing much enthusiasm. His death occurred July 6, 1876.

stitution. It was in your time that Washington was first elected president and the seat of government at Philadelphia and you must both recollect the purchase of Louisiana under the administration of Mr. Jefferson. My father voted for Mr. Madison for president and has voted for every president since. Probably you have done the same thing and voted for the very same candidates and what changes you have seen in your day and generation—more marvelous and wonderful than any ever recorded in all the annals of history, but I must not be drawn off into the consideration of such matters for they form no part of the purpose of this letter.

Your name is connected with the very earliest as well as my most recent associates in Illinois. When I first settled in Galena along in the year of 1840 Dixon was only known as "Dixon's Ferry," but from its location it had been a prominent point from the time of the Black Hawk War, "all of which you saw and part of which you was."

General Robert Anderson[3] of whom I saw a great deal at Tours, France, in the summer of 1870, had a most vivid recollection of the rendezvous of the troops there at that time.

He was then a lieutenant in the regular army and in that capacity had mustered Abraham Lincoln into the United States service as a volunteer. You know all the prominent men who figured in that famous war. General Scott, Governor Reynolds (known as the old ranger),

[3] General Robert Anderson, soldier, born at "Soldiers' Retreat," near Louisville, Ky., June 14, 1805, died in Nice, France, October 27, 1871. He graduated at West Point in 1825. He served in the Black Hawk War of 1832 as colonel of the Illinois Volunteers. Subsequently he was attached to the staff of General Scott, as assistant Adjutant-General, and was promoted to captain in 1841. He served in the Mexican War, and was severely wounded at Moline del Roy. In 1857 he was appointed major of the 1st Artillery, and on November 20, 1860, he assumed command of the troops in Charleston harbor, with headquarters at Fort Moultrie. He was appointed brigadier-general in the U. S. army by President Lincoln. Retired from active service October 27, 1863. He was the hero of Fort Sumter.

General Henry,[4] Col. Dodge,[5] Col. Strode[6] and so many others.

[4] James D. Henry, pioneer and soldier, was born in Pennsylvania, came to Illinois in 1822, locating at Edwardsville; removed to Springfield in 1826, and was soon after elected sheriff; served in the Winnebago War (1827) as adjutant, and, in the Black Hawk War (1831-32) as lieutenant colonel and colonel, finally being placed in command of a brigade at the battle of Wisconsin and the Bad Axe, his success in both winning for him great popularity. His exposures brought on disease of the lungs, and going south he died at New Orleans March 4, 1834.

[5] Colonel Henry Dodge, soldier, born in Vincennes, Indiana, October 12, 1782, died in Burlington, Iowa, June 19, 1867. He commanded a mounted company of volunteer riflemen in August and September, 1812, became a major of Louisiana militia under General Howard on September 28th, major in McNair's regiment of Missouri militia in April, 1813, and commanded a battalion of Missouri infantry as lieutenant colonel from August till October, 1814. He was colonel of Michigan volunteers from April till July, 1832, during the Black Hawk War. He was commissioned major of the United States Rangers June 21, 1832, and became the first colonel of the 1st Dragoons March 4, 1833. He was successful in making peace with the frontier Indians in 1834, and in 1835 commanded an important expedition to the Rocky mountains.

General Dodge was unsurpassed as an Indian fighter, and a sword with the thanks of the nation was voted him by Congress. He resigned from the army June 4, 1836, having been appointed by President Jackson governor of Wisconsin Territory and Superintendent of Indian Affairs. He held this office until 1841, when he was elected delegate to Congress as a Democrat, and served two terms. In 1846 he was again made governor of Wisconsin, and after that state's admission into the Union was one of its first United States Senators. He was re-elected and served altogether from June 23, 1848, till March 3, 1857.

[6] Colonel James M. Strode, a Kentuckian by birth, attorney for the fifteen northern counties of the State of Illinois in the time of Judge R. M. Young, Benjamin Mills and others, resided for sometime in southern Illinois, and then went to Galena. State Senator from 1832 to 1836, from Cook county as well as a number of the other northern counties, with his residence at Galena. Registrar of the land office in Chicago from 1836 to 1840. Member of the Chicago bar and prosecuting attorney from about 1844 to 1848. He was identified with the bar of Jo Daviess, Cook and McHenry counties.

He was a great patron of the drama, and his name is attached to a letter signed by the leading citizens of Chicago addressed to Alexander McKinzie dated October 3, 1838, in which they express their high appreciation of Mr. McKinzie's efforts to entertain the people by a series of theatrical performances.

He seems to have formed at an early date a very exaggerated idea of the prowess of the Indians, and among the earliest things mentioned of him was in 1832, when he accompanied Judge Young to Chicago from Galena to hold court, that he and Benjamin Mills brought the first intelligence of the atrocities of the Indians on Rock river, and most of the anecdotes extant of him relate in some way to his connection with the aborigines.

You must have known Mrs. Washburne's father, Col. Henry Gratiot,[7] of Gratiot's Grove, who was at that time the agent of the Winnebagoes. He was taken prisoner by the Prophet's Band of Indians, and imprisoned in his village on Rock River, the present site of Prophetstown, Whiteside county.

About the first time I ever heard particularly about Dixon's Ferry was in the early summer of 1840. The land office had not then been removed there from Galena where it had been so long located and which was then kept in a little frame building on the east side of Fever River. If I mistake not your fellow citizens, Col. John Dement,[8]

He was a commander of the militia of Jo Daviess county in the Black Hawk War. Colonel Strode was tall and straight and prided himself upon his Kentucky ancestry. He was in many respects a typical southern pioneer. Died while residing in McHenry county.

[7] Henry Gratiot, second son of Charles Gratiot, born at St. Louis, Mo., April 25, 1789; moved to Fevre River Lead Mines, now Galena, Illinois, October, 1825, on account of his aversion to slavery and a desire to bring up his family in a free state. Married June 21, 1813, Susan, daughter of Stephen Hempstead, a revolutionary soldier and one of the earliest (1811) emigrants from Connecticut to St. Louis, Upper Louisiana Territory—Father of Hon. Edward Hempstead, first delegate in Congress from Missouri Territory, and of Charles S. Hempstead, one of Galena's early lawyers, as well as of William Hempstead, a prominent and influential merchant of early Galena.

Henry Gratiot, with a younger brother, Jean Pierre Bugnion Gratiot, were among the first to develop the Fevre River lead mines, and for a long time maintained a large mining and smelting business at Gratiot's Grove, now in LaFayette county, Wisconsin; enjoying the Indians' confidence, he was enabled to exert great influence over them during the Black Hawk War, rendering inestimable services to the entire white population. Died at Barnum's Hotel, Baltimore, Md., April 27, 1836. His only surviving daughter, Adele, married the Hon. E. B. Washburne. His four sons were Charles H. Gratiot, Lieutenant Colonel Edward Hempstead Gratiot, Henry Gratiot and Stephen Hempstead Gratiot.

[8] John Dement, was born in Sumner county, Tenn., in April, 1804. When thirteen years old he accompanied his parents to Illinois, settling in Franklin county, of which he was elected sheriff in 1826, and which he represented in the General Assemblies of 1828 to '30. He served with distinction in the Black Hawk War, having previously had experience in two Indian campaigns. In 1831 he was elected State Treasurer by the Legislature, but, in 1836, resigned this office to represent Fayette county in the General Assembly and aid in the fight against the removal of the capital to Springfield. His efforts failing of success, he removed to the northern part of the State, finally locating at Dixon, where he became extensively engaged in manufacturing. In 1837 President VanBuren appointed him Receiver of Public Moneys, but

was the receiver, and col. Samuel Hackelton,[9] Register Hackelton was afterwards a member of the Legislature from Fulton county and Speaker of the House in the session of 1842-3.

It was in June, 1840, that there was a big Whig convention held at Dixon's Ferry to nominate candidates for the Legislature to represent a district composed of some ten or fifteen counties in the northwestern part of the State. Counties which now have population enough to send two members to Congress.

Drummond,[10] now Judge of the United States Circuit Court, and Horster "the blacksmith" of Millersburg, Mercer county, Illinois, were nominated and elected by a large majority. Tom Campbell,[11] of Galena, and Dr.

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he was removed by President Harrison in 1841; was re-appointed by Polk in 1845, only to be again removed by Taylor in 1849, and re-appointed by Pierce in 1853. He held the office from that date until it was abolished. He was a Democratic Presidential Elector in 1844; served in three Constitutional Conventions (1847, '62 and '70), being temporary president of the two bodies last named. He was the father of Hon. Henry D. Dement, Secretary of State of Illinois from 1884 to 1888. He died at his home at Dixon, January 16, 1883.

[9] Samuel Hackelton, of Fulton county, H. R. 8th, 9th and 13th, Senate, 10th and 11th General Assemblies. Speaker House of Representatives 1842-44. Presidential Elector 1836.

[10] Thomas Drummond was born at Bristol Mills, Lincoln county, Maine, October 16, 1809. After graduating from Bowdoin college in 1830, he studied law at Philadelphia, where he was admitted to the bar in 1833. He settled at Galena in 1835, and was a member of the General Assembly in 1840-41. In 1850 he was appointed United States District Judge for the District of Illinois as successor to Judge Nathaniel Pope, and four years later removed to Chicago. Upon the division of the State into two judicial districts, in 1855, he was assigned to the northern. In 1869 he was elected to the bench of the United States Circuit Court, and presided over the Seventh Circuit, which at that time included the states of Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin. In 1884, at the age of 75, he resigned, living in retirement until his death, which occurred at Wheaton, Illinois, May 15, 1890.

[11] Thompson Campbell, born at Kennet Square, Chester county, Pa. Entered Jefferson college at Canonsburg, Pa. After finishing his college course, went to Pittsburg and read law. Admitted to the bar and began the practice of law.

Being attracted to the far west, he removed to Galena, Illinois. Appointed Secretary of State by Governor Thomas Ford in 1843, but resigned in 1846, and became a delegate to the Constitutional Convention in 1847, in 1850 was elected as a Democrat to Congress from the Galena district, but defeated for re-election in 1852 by E. B. Washburne. He was then appointed by President Pierce commissioner to look after cer-

Van Valzeb,[12] of Freeport, were the Democratis nominees Drummond and Campbell canvassed the district together on horseback and carrying their duds in saddle bags.

A lively retinue of Whigs went down to that convention from Jo Daviess county but I was not of them, only having put out my shingle as a lawyer a few weeks before at Galena. I well recollect when the Galena delegates left in their lumber wagons for the long journey and they departed with songs and shoutings and banners. When they got home they told of the glorious time they had and what a magnificent repast Sample M. Turney had provided for them at Elk Horn Grove[13] when on their return. When I think of all the good things we had to eat in those good old times I feel like showing my Paris cook the door.

My early visits to Dixon's Ferry were going to Dixon from Springfield and returning in the winter time. For many years I attended the winter sessions of the Supreme Court at Springfield and now after a lapse of more than thirty years I shudder when I think of those dreadful stage rides. The distance as we travelled was between 300 and 400 miles and *such roads*. The old saying "that the passengers walked and carried fence rails" was very nearly verified. I recollect one trip when we

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tain land grants by the Mexican government in California, removing to that state in 1853, but resigned this position about 1855, to engage in general practice. In 1860 was candidate for Presidential Elector-at-large on the Breckenridge ticket; in 1861 returned to California, and on the outbreak of the Civil War became a zealous champion of the Union cause, by his speeches exerting a powerful influence upon the destiny of the state. He also served in the California Legislature during the war, and, in 1864, was a member of the Baltimore Convention which nominated Mr. Lincoln for the presidency, a second time assisting most ably in the subsequent campaign to carry the State for the Republican ticket.

Died in San Francisco, December 6, 1868.

[12] Error should be VanValzah. Dr. Thomas VanValzah settled on a claim within the present site of the village of Cedarville, Stephenson county, which he purchased of John Goddard, and at once began the erection of a saw and grist mill. These were completed in November, 1837, and were the first of the kind in Stephensen county. (History of Stephenson County, Ill., Tilden, Chicago, 1880, p. 247.)

[13] Elkhorn Grove, now in Carroll county, Illinois.

left Galena at nine o'clock on a Wednesday evening with nine passengers in the coach and only arrived at Springfield on the afternoon of the next Sunday, never getting off a walk and only stopping long enough to change horses. Ordinarily leaving Galena about four o'clock in the morning we could reach Dixon's Ferry between 1 and 2 o'clock the next morning. There was then but a single house on the north side of Rock River, arriving there our shivering driver would toot his horn to awaken the sleepy ferryman on the other side of the Jordan, after long and weary waiting we could at length get over the river and finally roll out half asleep and half awake at the old stage tavern where we were always welcomed by a genial fire and a warm room. Sometimes the weather was fearfully cold on those trips. I never came so near perishing as I did in the winter of 1843, on a night ride from Princeton to Dad Joe's Grove[14] in an open sleigh. The piercing wind swept over the long bleak unsettled prairies with a tremendous power. When we at length reached Dad Joe's log cabin, passengers, driver and horses had well nigh perished. It was always a particu-

[14] "Dad Joe" Smith. About eighteen or twenty miles south of Dixon and not far from the present Lee county line, in the south part of the county, "Dad Joe" Smith, pioneer, located, the date of which can not be definitely given, but it was, however, prior to the Black Hawk War, and of sufficient length of time for him to become familiar with the Indians of the country to secure his safety during the Black Hawk campaign. Having secured the safety of his wife and children he remained at his home at "Dad Joe's Grove," and attended and gathered his crops during the entire war unmolested. He had fought in the battle of the Thames; came to this country with the first emigrants and "settled in the shadow of this grove," and commenced opening a farm. At the time of the advance of Atkinson's army he served as a guide. He also served as a spy under command of Zachary Taylor. He was an early settler, and of such long standing that he was rather looked upon as a kind of patriarch in the country, and to distinguish him from other Joe Smiths—perhaps a son bearing his father's name—he received the venerable appellation of "Dad Joe." He was one of the good, jolly men, who had made their homes along the route of the early thoroughfare between Peoria and Galena.

"Dad Joe's" Grove. Jo Daviess county, twenty miles south on the Galena road, one of the stations on the great thoroughfare of travel from the southern settlements to the Galena mines in the north and were as oases in the desert to the pioneer traveler.

larly hard ride from Galena to Dixon until you got to Cherry Grove.[15] It was all up and down hill and the roads were simply horrible. The first change was at Elizabeth, the second at Mitchell's old place, the third at Cherry Grove, and the fourth and last at Buffalo Grove.[16] It was about 16 miles over the prairie between these two last named points and for many years after I began travelling over that route there was not a farm or a human inhabitant on that prairie.

I have crossed it in the stage in the night in a drifting snow storm and a certain sense of danger crept over us that the driver might lose the track. It was an unbroken prairie desolate beyond description in the winter, but supremely beautiful in the leafy month of June, wreathed in and fragrant with the most lovely wild flowers. I can recall no more exquisite enjoyment than I used to have in riding over the prairie on a delightful summer day in a light buggy drawn by two fleet horses.

You must recollect the sharp competition that was long up between different stage companies in the year 1841, 1842, 1843, as the travel increased between Galena and Chicago.

John D. Winters, of Elizabeth, was the old mail contractor and the stage proprietor, but the field he had so long occupied undisturbed was at length invaded. Frink and Walker put on an opposition line. They had Troy coaches, good horses and experienced drivers. The time was shortened and staging became more tolerable and Winters seeing this invasion by the "Yankees" he became furious and a stage war was inaugurated which raged with a terrible violence. People all along the route took sides but at the Galena end they were mostly on the side of Winters who was an old settler and had brought their mails to them for so many years. When I first went to Galena we only had a tri-weekly mail from Chicago

[15] Cherry Grove, now in Carroll county, Illinois.
[16] Nanusha or Buffalo Grove, now Polo, Ogle county, Illinois.

which came by way of Dixon's Ferry. We usually took from fifteen to twenty days to get papers and letters from New York. I was the first subscriber to the New York Daily Tribune in Galena, and at a time when I could only get it three times a week. Hand bills flew thick and fast and posters were seen everywhere. The companies mutually denounced each other. Frink had a brake to all his coaches, which was something never before heard of in that far off northwest. Winters denounced it as a "Damn Yankee contrivance," saying he wanted nothing to hold his horses back in going down the hill, but unfortunately for Winters in one of his hand bills when referring to the beauties of travel over his line he spoke of the pleasure it would be to the travelers to be taken "leisurely over the prairies." Frink saw his advantage, caught up the expression and made a great card of it. He published a counter hand bill, ridiculed the old broken down horses of Winters and proclaimed that the stages of his company's line did not go "leisurely over the prairies," but drawn by his splendid teams space was almost annihilated. The result of all this business was a violent personal assault by Winters on Frink in the bar-room of the old American House at Galena.

Frink and Winters were both remarkable men in their way and both made a certain impression on their time in Illinois. All of our old settlers remember them well. Frink was a Massachusetts man, began life as a stage driver and come to the west at an early day. A man of limited education and without cultivation, yet he was a man of strong mind, wonderful natural intelligence, indomitable will, great sagacity and a remarkable knowledge of human nature. I never knew a man who could so readily and accurately take the measure of another man. Winters had many of the traits of Frink. He was from either Kentucky or Tennessee and had come up from the ranks. An early settler of the lead mines. His character was somewhat shaped by the state of society

then existing. I think he had more education than Frink but not so much actual intellect nor was he so long headed. He was impetuous, sometimes violent, very pronounced in his opinions and always expressing himself in language of great vigor. He was a vehement Democrat and never failed to make known the faith which was within him. While Frink was a Whig but more careful in expressing his opinions and subordinating politics to staging. Frink has been dead many years and I believe Winters is no longer living. He emigrated a long time ago to California and became blind. I am sometimes saddened when I think how the recollections of so many marked men among our early settlers are to die out. Your own reminiscences would be intensely interesting. You have known so many of the public men of our State, Governors, Senators, Congressmen, Judges, legislators and lawyers and so many of the old pioneers.

I do not remember when Lee county was organized,* but it must have been long after you located on Rock River. You knew well all of the prominent lawyers who practiced at the Lee county bar in the earliest days. Butterfield[17] and Collins[18] of Chicago used to attend your

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* Lee county organized February 27, 1839, from Ogle county.

[17] Justin Butterfield, born at Keene, N. H., in 1790, educated at the common schools and prepared by the local minister for college, entered Williams college in 1807, and in about 1810 began the study of law under Judge Egbert Ten Eyck, at Watertown, N. Y. Was admitted to the bar in 1812. Began the practice of law in Adams, Jefferson county, N. Y. He practiced some years in Sackett's Harbor, where he married in 1814. He removed to New Orleans where he quickly obtained a lucrative practice and high rank in his profession. In 1826 he returned to Jefferson county, N. Y., settling this time at Watertown, N. Y., where he remained several years.

In 1835 he removed to Chicago, Illinois, forming a law partnership with James H. Collins in July 16, 1835. Mr. Butterfield soon became a recognized leader not only at the bar but in the broader relations of civil life. He was one of the trustees of Rush Medical College at its incorporation March 25, 1837.

Butterfield and Collins came to be recognized as at the head of the bar not alone in Chicago but in the State. In 1841 Mr. Butterfield was made prosecuting attorney for the United States Judicial District, which he held until the election of President Polk. In 1843 the partnership between Butterfield and Collins was dissolved, and a new firm established, Mr. Butterfield taking into partnership his son, Justin

court, both men of talent and able lawyers. Butterfield stood at the very head of the bar in the State in his time. His sayings and doing, his witticisms and his sarcasms will long be remembered.

You may recollect the incident at Whiteside county court when the county seat was at Sterling. Some old chap had a suit in court, but he did not want to pay the expense of employing a lawyer. He went around therefore to all the lawyers under pretense of employing

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Butterfield, Jr., and a law student, Erastus S. Williams, better known in later years as Judge Williams of the Circuit Court of Cook county. June 21, 1849, after the reaccession of the Whigs to power Mr. Butterfield was appointed Commissioner of the General Land Office by President Taylor. A competitor for the position at that time was Abraham Lincoln, who was beaten it is said by the superior dispatch of Butterfield in reaching Washington by the Northern Route, but more correctly by the paramount influence of his friend Daniel Webster. In fact, Lincoln was then, or had recently been in Washington as a member of the 30th Congress and had the indorsement of the Illinois delegation, but the pressure of Mr. Webster was irresistible. While in this office he co-operated zealously with Senator Douglas toward securing for Illinois the land grant which became the subsidy of the Illinois Central Railroad, and indirectly through the seven per cent of its gross earnings made payable by its charter to the State, an efficient aid in restoring the credit of the commonwealth and finally extinguishing its indebtedness. He held the position of Land Commissioner until disabled by paralysis in 1852. He died in Chicago October 23, 1855.

[18] James H. Collins, born in Cambridge, Washington county, N. Y., in 1799. When a child his parents removed to Vernon, Oneida county, in the same state, where he grew to manhood. His education was obtained in the district schools in the neighborhood, with a couple of years at an academy, and at the age of eighteen he began the study of law with Green C. Bronson, afterward Chief Justice of New York. He was admitted to the bar as an attorney in 1824 and as counselor and solicitor in 1827. After his admission as an attorney he opened an office at Vernon for the practice of his profession, remaining there until the fall of 1833, when he started for Illinois, and on his journey was a passenger in the first stage coach which made the trip from Detroit to Chicago. After reaching Chicago he made quite a tour of observation over the adjacent country, but finally returned to Chicago in the spring of 1834 selected it as his future home. Soon after this he formed a partnership with Mr. Caton under the firm name of Collins & Caton, which continued about two years, when the firm was dissolved and Mr. Collins formed a partnership with Justin Butterfield as Butterfield & Collins.

Mr. Collins' best field was as a chancery lawyer. Probably the bar of Chicago has never known a man more thoroughly learned in this branch of the law than Mr. Collins. When he died in 1854 it was stated that, while he had the largest chancery practice of any man in the State he had never lost a chancery case.

them but in reality to get all the information he could out of them with a view to attending to his case himself. Among others he attempted to pump Butterfield who at once saw his drift and determined to play off on him. He called for the papers in the case and apparently looked them over with great care. In the meantime the suitor behind the bar was looking on very anxiously, taking a sheet of paper Butterfield entitled the cause in regular form, wrote the words "Absque hoc" and signed his name. He then very solemnly returned the papers to the clerk. Soon after the anxious suitor himself sought the papers to ascertain what the distinguished lawyer had been doing. Reading what were to him the cabalistic and mysterious words "Absque hoc," he was utterly at a loss to comprehend what wily stratagem might be hidden beneath them. It was not long before he employed Mr. Butterfield to attend to his suit. The Galena lawyers of that day also attended the Lee county courts. Hempstead,[19] Drummond, Hoge[20] and Campbell,

[19] Charles S. Hempstead, pioneer lawyer and first mayor of Galena, was born at Hebron, Toland county, Conn., September 10, 1794, the son of Stephen Hempstead, a patriot of the Revolution. In 1809 he came west in company with a brother, descending the Ohio river in a canoe from Marietta to Shawneetown and making his way across the "Illinois Country" on foot to Kaskaskia, and finally to St. Louis, where he joined another brother, Edward, with whom he soon began the study of law. Having been admitted to the bar in both Missouri Territory and Illinois, he removed to St. Genevieve, where he held the office of prosecuting attorney by appointment of the Governor, but returned to St. Louis in 1818-19, and later became a member of the Missouri Legislature. In 1829 Mr. Hempstead located at Galena, Illinois, which continued to be his home for the remainder of his life, and where he was one of the earliest and best known lawyers. Mr. E. B. Washburne became a clerk in Mr. Hempstead's law office in 1840, and in 1845 a partner. Mr. Hempstead was one of the promoters of the Chicago & Galena Union Railroad (now a part of the Chicago & Northwestern) serving upon the first board of directors; was elected mayor of Galena in 1841, and in the early days of the Civil War, was appointed by President Lincoln a paymaster in the army. Died in Galena December 10, 1874.

[20] Joseph P. Hoge, born in Ohio early in the century and came to Galena, Illinois, in 1836, where he attained prominence as a lawyer In 1842 he was elected Representative in Congress, as claimed at the time by the aid of the Mormon vote at Nauvoo, serving one term. In 1853 he went to San Francisco, Cal., and became a judge in that state, dying a few years later at the age of over 80 years. He is represented to have been a man of much ability and a graceful and eloquent orator. Mr. Hoge was a son-in-law of Thomas C. Browne, one of the justices of the first Supreme Court of Illinois, who held office until 1848.

men who would adorn the bar of any country. I never attended a term of the court at Dixon, but you may remember speeches made at a meeting during the land sale in the spring of 1847, and just after the battle of Buena Vista, at which we nominated General Taylor for president. It was the first meeting in the whole country to make that nomination.

W. W. Fuller,[21] of Oregon, was known to you, a very able lawyer and one of the most accomplished scholars ever at the bar in our State. He was a Massachusetts man and was past middle age when he came west and located at "Oregon City," as it was then called and very soon after the county seat of Ogle county had been established there. He was then an unmarried man. He seemed to have tired of the artificial state of society in New England and sought seclusion in what was then a remote part of the country. His family was a celebrated one. Several of his brothers were eminent lawyers and one, the Honorable Timothy J. Fuller,[22] was a dis-

[21] William W. Fuller, born at Princeton, Mass., Aug. 4, 1792, graduated from Harvard college in 1813, and became a member of the legal profession in 1817. Located in Oregon, Ogle county, Illinois, where he began the practice of law in 1839; his fine mental endowments and genial manners soon gained for him fame and friends. Aug. 16, 1840, he married Miss Mary Fletcher, who died December 5, 1841. March 3, 1847, Mr. Fuller was married to Miss Almira M. Robertson, preceptress of Rock River Seminary. Mr. Fuller died August 17, 1849.

[22] Timothy Fuller, congressman, born in Chilmark, Martha's Vineyard, Mass., July 11, 1778, died in Groton, Mass., October 1, 1835. His father, Timothy, the first settled minister of Princeton, Mass., was third in descent from Thomas, who emigrated from England in 1638. The younger Timothy was graduated at Harvard in 1801 with the second honors. After teaching in Leicester Academy, he studied law with Levi Lincoln, and practiced successfully in Boston. He was a state senator in 1813-16 and was then elected to Congress as an anti-federalist, serving from January 2, 1818, till March 3, 1825. He was speaker of the state House of Representatives in 1825, a member of the executive council in 1828, and in 1831 was a member of the Legislature from Groton, whither he had removed about 1826. While in Congress he was chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, and was distinguished as an orator, making effective speeches in behalf of the Seminole Indians, and against the Missouri Compromise. He was an ardent supporter of John Quincy Adams, and published a pamphlet entitled "The Election for the Presidency Considered," which was widely circulated. Mr. Fuller was a hard-working lawyer, and an active and public-spirited man. He died suddenly of cholera, intestate and insolvent. Besides

tinguished member of Congress from the old bay state. Margaret Fuller, Countess D'Ossoli, the most gifted marked authoress of the day was his niece. For many years he lived a very quiet and secluded life and little was known of him but his ability as a lawyer eventually brought him into notice, and at the time of his death he had a very large practice. When I visited Oregon for the first time in June, 1841, I found him occupying a little frame building on the side of the bluff near Rock River which served him as a law office and a place to sleep. He was a man of great reading, of ready wit and with a personal appearance and carriage that stamped him as a man of no ordinary character.

Of the younger chief lawyers who attended your early courts Lisle Smith,[23] George W. Meeker,[24] Tracey and

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the work mentioned above he published an oration given at Watertown, July 4, 1809, and an address before the Massachusetts Peace Society (1826).

[23] Samuel Lisle Smith, born in Philadelphia, 1817, studied law at Yale and passed the examination entitling him to a diploma or license to practice before he was of sufficient age to receive it. In 1836 he came to Illinois to look after the interests of his father who owned some choice tracts of land near Peru. Returned to the east and married Miss Potts, of Philadelphia. In 1838 he came west and settled in Chicago. He made his headquarters in the office of Butterfield & Collins, where he familiarized himself with the laws of Illinois. In 1839 was chosen city attorney. He was at this time at the very height of his reputation as an orator. Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, one of his hearers at the Whig state convention at Springfield in 1840, thus refers to his powers: "I heard for the first time stump speeches from Lincoln, Hardin, Baker and others, but the palm of eloquence was conceded to a young Chicago lawyer, S. Lisle Smith. I have heard Webster and Choate and Crittenden and Bates of Missouri, they were all greatly his superiors in power and vigor, and in their various departments of excellence, but for an after-dinner speech, a short eulogy or commemorative address, or upon any occasion where the speech was a part of the pageant, I never heard the equal of Lisle Smith."

In 1844 he took an active interest in the presidential campaign, the third attempt of the Whigs to elect Henry Clay, of whom he was a admirer and supporter. In 1847, at the River and Harbor Convention at Chicago, he signally distinguished himself among some of the best speakers of the nation. Horace Greeley said he was "the star of the vast assembly, and stood without a rival"; and Henry Clay did not hesitate to write that Mr. Smith "was the greatest orator he had ever heard." Died of cholera July 30, 1854.

[24] George W. Meeker, born in Elizabethtown, N. J., 1817, from infancy one of his limbs was paralyzed, so that he always had to use crutches. He was well educated and possessed a good knowledge of French

E. G. Ryan,[25] The last named now Chief Justice of Wisconsin. They were all men of brilliant talents and of the most captivating personal qualities. The three died many years ago. Mr. Ryan at that early day gave evidence of that ability which has since distinguished him as a lawyer and a judge.

My relations with Smith, Meeker and Tracey were of the most intimate character. There was another young man who was not a lawyer but who was a devoted friend of us all whom you must have known for he was a great deal in our part of the State in connection with post office business. I refer to Richard L. Wilson,[26] one of the early

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and Greek and Latin. He came to Chicago in 1837, studied with Spring & Goodrich and was admitted to the bar in 1839, and soon afterwards formed a partnership with Mr. Manierre. He was for a time clerk of the United States Court and was for many years United States Court Commissioner. He was considered a very fine lawyer, was well versed in the statute law of the state and especially the statutes of the United States. and was an authority on all points of practice arising in the Federal courts. He died suddenly in April, 1856.

[25] Edward George Ryan, jurist, was born in County Meath, Ireland, November 13, 1810. He began the study of law before coming to the United States in 1830, and continued it in New York while teaching school, and was admitted to the bar in 1836. He was an editor on the Chicago Tribune, 1839-41. and then removed to Wisconsin, settling in 1842 at Racine, and in 1848 in Milwaukee, where he became one of the most powerful advocates of the Wisconsin bar. He was a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention in 1846, and to the Democratic National Convention in 1848. In 1862, as chairman of a committee of the Democratic State Convention, he drew up an address to the people of his state, which became known as the "Ryan Address." He was city attorney of Milwaukee, 1870-72. and in 1874, succeeded Luther S. Dixon as chief justice of the state. holding that office until his death, which occurred in Milwaukee October 19, 1880.

[26] Richard Lush Wilson. editor and publisher of the Chicago Evening Journal, the oldest paper of consecutive publication in Chicago, was a native of New York, coming to Chicago with his brother, John L., in 1834. they soon after established themselves in business on the Illinois and Michigan canal, then in course of construction. In 1844 he took charge of the Chicago Daily Journal, for a publishing committee which had purchased the material of the Chicago American, but soon after became proprietor. In April, 1847, while firing a salute in honor of the victory of Buena Vista, he lost an arm and was otherwise injured by the explosion of the cannon. Early in 1849 he was appointed by President Taylor postmaster of Chicago, but, having failed of confirmation, was compelled to retire in favor of a successor appointed by Millard Fillmore, eleven months later. Mr. Wilson published a little volume in 1842 entitled "A Trip to Santa Fe," and a few years later a story of travel under the title, "Short Ravellings from a Long Yarn."

Died December, 1856.

proprietors of the Chicago Journal and afterwards postmaster of Chicago, a man whose rare qualities of head and heart drew around him a host of friends. Those who survive him hold his memory in respect and affection.

But it has been in the field of politics that I have known you so well, first as a Whig, like myself, and then as a Republican. I can never forget what a true, personal and political friend you have been to me always. After Lee county fell into the third district you scarcely ever failed to attend congressional conventions and always an unswerving supporter. I cherish with gratitude the recollection of all your kindness to me. Neither will the recollection of all the kindness and devotion of my old constituents, in both congressional districts ever be effaced from my memory. No man ever represented a more generous or indulgent constituency nor one more distinguished for intelligence and patriotism. In all the nine canvasses I made running through eighteen years there was never a cottage, or a farm house or a cabin in either district where I was not welcomed with the most cordial and genuine hospitality.

In looking over the many pages I have written already I am admonished that I have extended my letter to an inordinate length. But I confess to a weakness for the reminiscences of my professional and political life among the people with whom my lot was happily cast and among whom I have had my home for five and thirty years. I have no friendship for the life over here and the time is not far distant I hope when I shall be back again among the old friends.

And now my dear friend accept my earnest and heartfelt wishes for your continued health and for that happiness which is the just reward of a long life spent in good deeds and which has never been stained by any single act of dishonor, but which has been illustrated by those virtues which most adorn our common humanity.

Will you be kind enough to remember me to the old friends in Lee county and believe that I am as ever most faithfully your friend,

E. B. WASHBURNE.

REVOLUTIONARY SOLDIERS BURIED IN CLARK COUNTY, ILL.

By Mrs. Edwin S. Walker.

The study of the counties of Illinois is most interesting from a historical standpoint; their names, formation and development mark epochs in the early history of the State and nation.

Clark county was formed from Crawford county in 1819, three months after Illinois was admitted to the Union as a state. The county was named in honor of George Rogers Clark, whose military record in Illinois is among the treasure rolls of history dating back to the Revolutionary War.

Many of the soldiers who accompanied him in his famous march to Kaskaskia and Vincennes are buried in the southern part of the State, but more lie in southern Indiana.

Clark county is honored as the place of burial of eight soldiers of the American Revolution.

Zachariah Archer.

Was born in the county of Downs, Ireland, in 1752. He came to America when twenty years of age, and enlisted in 1776 from Northumberland county, Pennsylvania, in Capt. William Peebles' company of the Pennsylvania rifle regiment, commanded by Col. Samuel Miles. He was transferred to the Pennsylvania State Regiment with Capt. Matthew Scott and Col. Walter Stewart. Zachariah Archer was in the battles of Long Island, Trenton and Brandywine; he was in camp at Valley Forge. He came to Illinois in 1819, and died in 1822; is buried in the Walnut Prairie cemetery, in Clark county.

Ebenezer Bartlett.

A native of Newburg, Orange county, New York, born in 1757; he enlisted in 1775 at Bloomingrove, New York, and was in the battles of Harlem. White Plains and Fort Montgomery; he served until 1781. In 1838 he came to Illinois with his sons, settling in Clark county, and died in December the same year. He lies buried in the York cemetery and his grave has been marked by the Walter Burdick Chapter, D. A. R., of Marshall.

Nicholas Bean

Was born in Germany in 1760; came to America in early life and enlisted in the war; was in the battles of Guilford Court House, Cowpens, Eutaw Springs and the siege of Yorktown. He was wounded at the battle of Cowpens by a sabre cut across the head; he also served in the war of 1812. He removed from North Carolina to Clark county, Illinois, in 1830, and died in 1838.

Thomas Boon.

Was born in South Carolina in 1760; he served in the South Carolina troops and for service rendered his country, he was granted a pension, No. 23,656. He came to Illinois and died in Clark county in 1836.

Henry Briscoe

Was born in Maryland in 1763; he enlisted in 1781 and served until December under Capt. David Lynn and Maj. Roxbury. He was engaged in the siege of Yorktown. He removed to Kentucky and from there to Illinois, Clark county, where he died and is buried in the family burial ground one mile east of Westfield.

Peter Dozier

Was born in Virginia in 1762; he served in the Virginia troops during the war. For this service he was awarded

a pension, No. 22,951. He came to Illinois after the war and resided in Clark county. He died in 1838.

Samuel McClure.

Was born in Augusta county, Virginia, in 1748; died in Clark county, Illinois, December 18, 1845, and is buried in the Forsythe cemetery. He was a revolutionist before the Revolution, serving in 1774, again in 1775 and also in 1781. He was a private under Captains George Matthews, William Anderson, Thomas Smith and Zaccheus Johnson, with Cols. William Boyer and Abraham Smith.

Frederick Unsell,

A native of Pennsylvania, where he enlisted, serving acceptably in the Pennsylvania line of troops. He was born in 1765 and died in Clark county, Illinois, in 1835. His pension number is 22,472.

ANCESTRY AND RECOLLECTIONS OF MRS. JOHN YOUNG, ROCHELLE, ILL.

Although I had always been taught that Hon. Daniel Webster had the right idea when he said, "It is wise to recur to the history of our ancestors, and that we are true to ourselves only when we act with becoming pride for the blood we inherit and which we are to transmit to those who shall fill our places," I have been very dilatory as to showing my respect for the memory of my great grandfather, Samuel Watkins, captain in the army of the American Revolution, and at this late day I bring my tribute to the officers of the D. A. R., who deserve much praise for their efforts to rescue many a nearly forgotten record of bravery and suffering from oblivion.

Surely I may be called an American woman, although there is not a trace of aboriginal blood in my veins.

About 1650, when Cromwell was in power in England, Benjamin Peck and his sister Rachel came from London, England, to Boston, Mass. His son, Benjamin Peck, Jr., was born there, and when a young man removed to New York City. Being a wealthy man he purchased tracts of land in what is now called lower New York, in Pearl, Water, Pine, Cherry and Williams streets, Peck Slip and Fly Market. His daughter, Rachel, married Robert Griffith, a Welsh ship captain, in 1741. They were my great grandparents, my mother, before her marriage, being Miss Elizabeth L. Griffith.

My father, Anthony Eager, was the great grandson of William and Sarah Wells Bull. Mr. Bull was born in England in 1689, Mrs. Bull in 1694 in New Jersey. They were married in the township of Goshen, New York, in 1718, being the first white couple married in said town.

On January 16, 1856, I was married to John L. Young, whose ancestors were also among the early settlers of what is now Orange county, New York. They were the Youngs, Trimbles and Stewarts, Scotch and Irish, and arrived in New York about the same time the Eagers, my ancestors, did—1729.

Mr. Young's people and the Eagers lived on adjoining farms from 1741 until 1885. Previous to our marriage the alluring tales of the fruitfulness and ease of culture of the prairie land had caused us to plan for a home in Illinois, and we, like many others of that day, bade adieu to the hills and stones of New York, and set our faces toward the setting sun.

With the high hopes of young people and the best wishes of our friends, we left Goshen, N. Y., on March 17, 1856, to come by railroad to Chicago, thence to Knoxville, Knox county, Illinois, where Mr. Young had relatives. From Monday morning until Friday night we pushed through snow. At Buffalo, N. Y., we were completely stopped by the huge banks which had drifted in some cases above the tops of the cars. After being shoveled out, we kept on our way to Cleveland, having some very unpleasant experiences. After passing through Ohio we found no more snow, and fine spring weather. On Saturday A. M. we left Chicago by way of C. B. & Q. Ry. for Galesburg, arriving there late in the afternoon. There was not much of a depot there and we were literally dumped on the prairie. After considerable talking the stage for Knoxville was found; said stage was a long lumber wagon with some sort of cloth curtains, seats of board with no rest for the back, drawn by four horses. The conveyance was well filled—a man, wife and six children, mostly little ones, from Vermont, two young ladies, and the three of our party. The forward horses balked at once and were quickly changed to the rear and on we went. Our driver said "No time for supper," and our all day fast had made us dreadfully

hungry. We left Galesburg at five P. M., Knoxville five miles away. When two and a half miles on our way we found a place in the road which was to all appearance bottomless; wagon was fast in the mud; the driver politely requested the passengers to get out and assist in prying out the wagon. Was once more on our way, and at ten P. M. arrived at Knoxville; five miles travelled in five hours. So much for the beginning.

On Sunday we looked about our new home. On account of the mud we were compelled to wait at the cousin's home several days before we could "get our plunder hauled" as the carrier expressed it.

Oh, what a big out doors it was, open as far as one could see, no trees except a fringe of soft timber at the creek. When the mud dried we had the most beautiful dust, just covered everything. The men in the fields ploughing were hidden in it, and the daily stage from Peoria "kicked up a great dust" as it went on its way to Knoxville.

Time went on, we gradually lost the awful homesick feeling—did not pine for a sight of the home mountains, and learned to drink the surface water without longing for a draught from the old home well. Everything grew and the prairie was beautiful with the wild spring flowers and coat of fine green grass. But alas, when harvest time came, the miserable little chinch bug was ahead of us, consequently the wheat never was cut, and one of our fine team of horses lost his sight early in this first year.

We found the people much excited by political dissensions, party spirit ran high and in the fall there were three presidential candidates in the field. Political meetings were much enjoyed by the people, especially farmers, and long procession of vehicles and equestrians gathered at the speaking places. I had been taught that women had no business at political meetings, but I found everybody, men and women, went now, so I rode in one procession with Mr. Young, and to tell the truth, felt

guilty at being there. The great questions which were before the people engrossed the attention of all, and persons of every degree of intelligence stated their views at all times and places, wherever they could find hearers. Many political sermons were preached from pulpits, and taking it all together, it was a very exciting campaign. Mr. James Buchanan (Dem.) was elected President and John C. Breckenridge Vice President, entering upon their duties March 4th, 1857.

We had now been one year in Illinois, long enough to take stock of our surroundings, had already made many warm friends. We had found Ohio and New York people as neighbors, and their hearts seemed to go out to us as strangers, but upon going to a new home west of Galesburg, were in the midst of Tennessee and Kentucky people—the most hospitable set of folks upon the earth—and with the kindest hearts. They literally loved their neighbors as they did themselves. The young people were fond of dancing, and old and young loved card playing.

In those times the people were much more helpful to each other than now. If there was a job of quilting, wool pulling, or carpet rags to be sewn, the neighbors cheerfully helped each other. This all tended to foster a spirit of neighborly kindness and good feeling towards each other. Some may not know what wool pulling is. The wool, just as it is shorn from the sheep, is placed in a pile on the floor, and the women sit around pulling it apart and allowing the dirt to fall out so the wool is fit to oil and prepare for carding. So the women picked and gossiped, and at evening a fine country supper would be spread, to which the guests usually did ample justice and then go home.

These years were hard times for farmers. Butter sold for ten cents per pound, corn and pork, the great staples, at very low rates. With all the drawbacks of various kinds, farmers and others found time to look after

churches and schools. Lombard University, under the auspices of the Universalist denomination, and Knox College, a Congregational and Presbyterian school, both at Galesburg, drew students from the towns and surrounding country, and many bright and useful men and women have been graduated from each, as they were co-educational institutions. Sometimes something was learned not in the text-books, and the foundations of many happy homes were laid within the walls of Lombard or Knox.

All this time rapid progress was being made in all that goes to build up the good of the state and country. Farming was being done on new and different lines. Improved farming machinery was invented and bought. Roads were made in better shape and one was not in as much danger of sticking in the mud. Railroads were being built in all directions, and the locomotive took the place of the slow moving horse team in the transportation of farm products to market.

The spirit of improvement and progression was abroad in the land. Homes were made more comfortable, and women found relief from much drudgery by the use of the many household helps.

The early settlers found much to vex them in the uncertainty as to the validity of the titles to the lands which they had purchased. Unpaid taxes would come up and cause much expense and trouble to the buyer. Finances too were in an unsettled condition, and paper money, which at night was all right to pay the working man's wages, by morning might be utterly worthless. Specie was held at a high premium and very difficult to get.

Borrowers were compelled to pay a high rate of interest and many farmers after paying perhaps all the money they had for land, were compelled to mortgage the farming implements, team, a cow or two, etc., to the money lenders. But years have come and gone, and Illinois money is no more designated as "Wild Cat." This condition lasted some time, and everyone was given

lessons in economy which were found very useful both then and in the following years during the Civil War.

In many localities fever and ague made the newcomers' lives miserable, which led to a great consumption of quinine, as one old doctor remarked that was all that saved Illinois from being one great burying ground. Our record for health is now equal to any other state. Tiling and draining have worked wonders.

In the spring of 1861 I picked up my two babies and went to New York to see the old home and home folks. How good and comforting it all seemed to me; but the mutterings of war were heard on all sides and on April eleventh the news of the bombardment of Fort Sumter thrilled the country. Everyone understood then that the days of concession and compromise were over and the day of reckoning had come. I will not review this, it is general history, but recollection will bring back the sight of soldiers at depots, the hot July days of my return journey west. Young men, the flower and hope of our country leaving home to go into encampment, the tearful goodbyes of friends, the music of drums and fife, the bright new uniforms of the soldiers, gay floating American flags, can never be forgotten.

I was glad to get back to my husband and little home in Galesburg. Soon everyone was busy. Usual duties were set aside. Soldiers must go to the front and their needs had to be looked after. Women worked day and night, busily filling boxes and barrels with comforts for them. Recruiting went on, boys in their teens and men in their prime, went. Wives and children with strong faith that they would be cared for at home took up their part of the burden. The old declaration of peace and good will on earth was ignored. War, war, and reports from the front were heard instead.

The cry rang in all places. I well remember a minister, dressed in full regimentals, including spurs, preached to a large audience in a Galesburg church. His text, "They

have heeded the hurt of the daughter of my people slightly and called Peace, Peace, when there was no Peace." His address was a grand review of the efforts which had been made for conciliation and compromise during the years gone by, followed by an earnest appeal to the hearers to do their duty at once. The hymn, "Onward Christian Soldiers" and the "Star Spangled Banner" were sung, which closed the exercises.

The students of both Knox and Lombard colleges responded heartily to the call for volunteers and at commencement time, but few were there to receive their diplomas. Many from both schools made good records for bravery and many gave up life on Southern battlefields.

With this I end my imperfect sketch of bygone times and ancestors. I must plead the excuse of old age for faults, etc. Am eighty years old—A "daughter" since last June. My official number is 93555. Mr. Young died February 21st, 1907. Had been a resident of Illinois fifty-one years, and always was proud of the State and its progress.

Respectfully,

CHRISTIAN J. EAGER-YOUNG.

Resident of Rochelle, Ogle Co., Illinois since 1873.

AN OLD TIME TRAGEDY IN THE STATE PENITENTIARY AT ALTON.*

W. T. Norton, Alton, Ills.

In October, 1857, there was a convict committed to the State penitentiary from Champaign county for the crime of larceny. He was sentenced for seven years. His name was John W. Hall, alias William Lindsay. He was a Tennessean by birth and was 28 years old. He was a man of great strength and wiry frame, and his imprisonment made him insane with rage and hate. After a time he was set to work in the blacksmith shop and, although carefully watched, was able to make himself a short knife out of an old file, which he had managed in some way to procure. This weapon he concealed about his person when he was returned to his cell at night. His cell, like all others, was built of stone. The door was of solid oak, strapped with bars of iron. The prisoner's bed shut down against the door which opened inwards. In the door opening into the corridor was a hole some eight inches square, grated with iron bars. The only other opening into the cell was a narrow slit or window also barred, admitting light and air. A person on the outside, even if mounted on a ladder could not see the prisoner unless the latter so chose. All this was understood by Hall when he concocted a desperate scheme to escape. On the evening of the day when Hall had secured the knife a guard, named C. C. Crabb, was making the rounds of the corridor to see that all was secure for the night. Hall called to him, "Oh Crabb, I

* For the main facts in this article I am indebted to a file of the Alton Courier of 1858; to an article contributed to the Illinois State Register years ago, and to an account of the tragedy written by Judge J. P. Thornton of Alton for the Daily Times of that city.

am sick, please bring me a drink of water." The guard complied with the request and, on unlocking and opening the door, was struck down with an iron bar, which Hall had managed to obtain, and dragged into the cell. Hall then closed the door, took the keys from the guard, locked the door and let down his bed against it. He then bound the guard with strips torn from the bed blanket. The guard had been stunned by the blow and did not recover consciousness for an hour. When Crabb did not return from his rounds at the usual time, search was made for him and the situation discovered. The warden, Col. S. A. Buckmaster, was then hastily summoned to the scene. Hall, meanwhile, armed with the knife, was keeping watch over the prostrate turnkey. and was secure in his cell. He declared that he would kill the guard unless given a full pardon. He also demanded that he be furnished with a revolver, be permitted to walk out of the prison with the guard to a carriage, and that Col. Buckmaster should then drive him as far as he should indicate and then permit him to escape. He further declared that if any attempt was made to take him in his cell he would fall on Crabb and murder him then and there. The situation was tragic. There seemed to be no way of getting at the prisoner that did not render the death of Crabb certain. The citizens of Alton were soon aware of the tragedy and the town was in an uproar. The guard was a well known and respectable citizen and had a family. The news of the situation was sent out over the State and country and attracted absorbed attention from its murderous ingenuity. Communication was kept up with the prisoner and the guard through the slit in the door before which Buckmaster stood guard, pistol in hand, for the greater part of two days (one account says three days), watching for a chance to shoot the convict. But Hall managed to keep himself covered with the body of the guard and his vigilance never relaxed. Hall said he had been trying to get the warden, instead of the guard, but had been compelled

to take smaller game; whereupon Buckmaster offered to take the place of Crabb if the latter might be released. Hall, however, declined to exchange his captive although Buckmaster offered to go into the cell naked. It was useless to try and poison the convict for the guard was compelled to eat of the same food, and the little window did not afford a view of either. When this desperate situation was made known to Gov. Bissell at Springfield, he at once sent a pardon to Col. Buckmaster, to be used at his discretion, but the warden decided not to avail himself of it except at the last extremity. No pains were spared to catch the convict off his guard, but he seemed to feel neither fatigue nor fear. When every other expedient failed the warden decided to force the door, and in doing this the convict's heel was exposed, and a bullet pierced it. This unnerved him and he carelessly brought his head into view and a ball from the pistol entered it. But before this he had cruelly wounded Crabb with repeated stabs. As Hall fell the guards rushed in and dragged Crabb out. The convict proved to be mortally wounded and died two days later in the prison hospital in great agony. He was attended by Dr. Hez. Williams, then prison surgeon. The warden's course was approved and sanctioned by the superintendent of the prison, F. S. Rutherford. Crabb, although frightfully injured, eventually recovered and held his place in the penitentiary after its removal to Joliet. The tragedy was long remembered in Alton and throughout the State.

The inquest held on the body of Hall was notable for the personnel of the jury. It was composed of twelve of the foremost citizens of Alton, viz.: Levi Davis, an eminent jurist, foreman; Samuel Wade, then serving his fourth term as Mayor; George T. and Joseph Brown, both former Mayors; William Post, who was twice Mayor; E. Marsh, bank president; Nathaniel Hanson, Manufacturer; J. R. Stanford, capitalist; Samuel Pitts,

host of Franklin House; A. S. Barry, druggist; William H. Turner, merchant; Wm. A. Platt, mechanic.

The inquest was held by William G. Pinckard, J. P., acting coroner, on the 13th of March, 1858. The jury found that Hall came to his death, when in a state of revolt, from a pistol shot wound inflicted by S. A. Buckmaster, the warden, to save the life of the guard, C. C. Crabb, the shooting taking place on the 10th of March and Hall dying on the 11th. The jury exculpated Buckmaster from all blame, finding him fully and entirely justified in his action.

Col. Buckmaster was one of the best known of the Democratic leaders of the State. He was mayor of Alton once before and once after the tragedy; served several terms in both houses of the Legislature; was member of the constitutional convention of 1862, and twice a candidate for Governor before the conventions of his party.

EARLY LIBRARIES IN ILLINOIS.

By W. T. Norton.

There was on exhibition at Edwardsville last September, at the centennial celebration of the organization of Madison county, a catalogue of what was the earliest, or the next to the earliest public library established in Illinois. The catalogue was printed in 1819 by Hooper Warren, editor of the Edwardsville Spectator. It was exhibited by Capt. A. L. Brown and had been handed down through three generations of his family. There is no known record of when the society was organized, or who constituted it in addition to the librarian, John N. Randle. Neither is it known how long it existed, but it eventually dissolved and part of the books fell to John T. Lusk, the maternal grandfather of Capt. Brown. As the catalogue was printed in 1819 the association must, of necessity, have been organized earlier. It may have been in 1819, or possibly prior to that year. As a matter of historic interest and as illustrative of the literary taste of our forefathers I append the list of books entire:

"A COMPLETE CATALOGUE OF

ALL THE BOOKS NOW IN OR BELONGING TO THE EDWARDSVILLE LIBRARY, AT LIBRARY ROOM, EDWARDSVILLE, Nov., 1819.

American State Papers, in 12 Volumes; Adams' Defense; Burns' Poems; Blair's Lectures; Brydon's Tour; Butler's Hudibras; Beauties of History; Bartram's Travels; Belknap's American Biography; Coeleb's in Search of a Wife; Cowper's Homer, 4 volumes; Campaign in Russia; Carvel's Travels; Camilla, or a Picture

of Youth; Clarke's Travels; Christian Researches in Asia; Clarkson's History; Clark's Naval History; Depom's Voyage; Domestic Encyclopedia; Ely's Journal; Elements of Criticism; Ferguson's Roman Republic; The Federalist; Guy Mannering; Gibbon's Rome, 4 volumes; Goldsmith's Works, 6 volumes; Grand Pre's Voyage; Gil Blas, 4 volumes; History of Carraccas; History of Chili; History of Greece; History of Charles Fifth; History of England; Hawkworth's Voyages; Humboldt's New Spain; Jefferson's Notes; Letters of Junius; Marshall's Life of Washington; McFingal, a Modern Epic Poem; Mayo's Ancient Geography and History; Modern Europe; McLeod on the Revelation; McKenzie's Voyage; Moore's Poems; McNevins' Switzerland; Ossian's Poems; Practical Education; Plutarch's Lives; Porter's Travels; Ramsay's Washington; Rob Roy; Rollin's Ancient History, with atlas, 8 volumes; Rumford's Essays; Robertson's America; Scottish Chiefs; Sterne's Works, 5 volumes; Scott's Works, 4 volumes; Salmagundi, 2 volumes; Shakespeare's Plays, 6 volumes; Spectator, 10 volumes; Tales of My Landlord; Telemachus; Warsaw; Travels of Anacharsis; Thompson's Seasons; Turnbull's Voyages; Universal Gazetteer; Vicissitudes Abroad, 6 volumes; Volney's America; Virginia Debates; Vicar of Wakefield; Views of Louisiana; Wirt's Life of Patrick Henry; Watt's Logic; Wealth of Nations; Young's Night Thoughts; Zimmerman on National Pride,

JOHN N. RANDLE,

H. WARREN, Printer. Librarian.

Drawn for the Use of Shareholders at Library Room, Edwardsville, Nov. 30, 1819."

This is certainly an admirable selection of choice literature to be found in a pioneer library. Doubtless it exerted a wide influence in raising the standard of culture in this new settlement on the border. In this list of some 120 volumes there are few works of fiction. How many of these books would be called for at our public libraries

in this novel-reading age in competition with the "best ten sellers?"

As a rival for Edwardsville for the honor of being the location of the first public library in Illinois we find the famous English settlement at Albion in Edwards county, the home of Morris Birkbeck and Richard and George Flower. Many references to this library are found in early books of travel and correspondence from Illinois. A definite date as to the year of its establishment is given in the Edwardsville Spectator of Dec. 26, 1820. It says that the library was founded in 1818 and attracted the attention of distinguished visitors and reviewers. It was housed in one part of a building used as a market house. It was free to the public and was open on Sunday afternoons." The Spectator names Richard Flower as the founder and promoter of the society.

W. Faux, in his "Memorable Days," 1823, writes:

"A good market house and a public library is at the end (of Albion) in which a kind of Unitarian worship is held on Sunday, when a sermon and the church service purified is read by any one who pleases. The books are donations from the Flower family and their friends in England. By sending donations, people become honorary members, and Mrs. Flower has, by all legal means, secured perpetuity to this institution which few expect to find in this distant wilderness."

Mr. Walter Colyer relates that this early library contained from 2,000 to 3,000 volumes mainly the donations of the Flower family and that distinguished anti-slavery writer, Morris Birkbeck, the most valued ally of Governor Coles in the anti-slavery struggle of 1824. The society, Mr. Colyer says, had its own building. How long the organization continued does not appear, but it most certainly had a notable career. Many of the books belonging to it are said to be still in existence in the hands of the old families of Albion. It will be seen from these facts that to either Edwardsville or Albion belongs the honor of having founded the first public library in Illinois. How

long the original society at Edwardsville existed is, as stated, not of record. But sixty or more years after it was established the present library association was organized by the initiative of leading ladies of the city. At a meeting held May 3, 1879, an organization was effected, and a charter obtained later from the Secretary of State. The library was opened with 100 volumes, the donation of Mr. John A. Prickett. This was a humble beginning for an institution that now boasts 5,000 volumes and is housed in a splendid Carnegie library building.

The third pioneer library established in Illinois was, probably, one of which Rev. Dr. A. T. Norton makes mention in his "History of the Presbyterian Church in Illinois." It was located at Kaskaskia and one of its officials was Hon. David J. Baker, later a senator of the United States. The record reads:

"An organization called the Kaskaskia Social Library Association was made November 7, 1826. Its officers were Col. Thomas Mather, librarian; Miss Frances Brard, treasurer; Mrs. Susan Lamb, Mrs. Bond, Mrs. E. H. Morrison, Rev. J. M. Ellis, Mr. D. J. Baker, Mr. St. Vrain, standing committee. The sum constituting membership was from 25 cents to one dollar, or over, according to the voluntary subscription of each person becoming a member. Here is a receipt given by Rev. John Matthews to D. J. Baker:

"Kaskaskia, March 16, 1830.

"Received of Mr. D. J. Baker (Esq.) treasurer of the Library Society of Kaskaskia, one dollar sixty-two and a half cents, to pay over to Mr. Ellis for books bought for the society.

JOHN MATTHEWS."

The Miss Frances Brard, referred to above, was a highly educated lady of French extraction. She was born in Baltimore where her parents had fled during the insurrection in San Domingo, where they were resident.

She came to Illinois in 1819 to make her home with relatives. She subsequently became the wife of Rev. John M. Ellis, the famous pioneer preacher and educator.

Though not to be classed as a pioneer organization, the Alton Library Association (now known as the Jennie D. Hayner Library Association) has, perhaps, as long a continuous existence as any in the State. It was organized in 1852 and has now behind it sixty-one consecutive years of usefulness. The first president of the society was P. W. Randle. It is a coincidence that the librarian of the Edwardsville society in 1819 was John N. Randle, indicating a literary strain running through the Randle family, one of the oldest in Madison county. In 1867 the Alton society elected a full board of lady directors, and it has been under the control of such directors ever since. Mrs. J. J. Mitchell was the first lady president. Several prominent ladies have since graced that position, the one holding office longest being Mrs. J. P. Laird, who served from 1882 to her death in 1909, with the exception of one year. After many years of gradual expansion the society found its future growth hampered by a lack of suitable quarters. At this crisis Mr. John E. Hayner came forward and offered to erect a library building as a memorial to his wife, the late Mrs. Jennie D. Hayner. The offer was gratefully accepted, and Mr. Hayner thereupon erected a modern library building completely appointed at a cost of $20,000. He also gave it an endowment of $15,000. Mr. Hayner died in 1903, but his heirs continued his munificent work in accordance with his known wishes. His heirs, Mrs. Mary Caroline Hayner, Mrs. Florence Hayner Haskell, John A. Haskell and Dr. W. A. Haskell, added $48.000 in the way of endowments and an annex building, making the total benefactions of Mr. Hayner and his heirs, for this object, $83,000. Other generous donors were Mr. and Mrs. Wm. Eliot Smith, Mrs. C. L. Wright and Mrs. O. S. Stowell, together with a $5,000

endowment from citizens of Alton in general. With a perfectly equipped building and an ample endowment fund the Hayner Memorial Library provides the public with books absolutely free and with no tax upon the public for maintenance. The library now contains some 16,000 volumes. Miss Florence Dolbee has been for many years its cultured librarian.

THE SCENES OF FRONTIER DAYS.

By W. H. Thacker, Arlington, Washington.

The tide of Time is backward rolled,
And scenes long passed I view once more;
The woodlands and the virgin fields,
Are round me as they were of yore.

The Meadow-lark and Bob-o-link,
Pour forth their love notes rich and rare,
And from an hundred little throats,
A shower of music fills the air.

I hear the Bob-white call his mate;
The Pheasant's drum at early morn—
At night the cry of "Whip-poor-will,"
Tells that it's time to plant the corn.

From thickets come the deer to feed,
At sunset and at morning's light;
The prowling wolves in search of prey,
With fearsome music fill the night.

The settlers' cabins here and there,
With clapboard roof and puncheon floor;
The pots are boiling on the fire,
The short-cake on the coals before.

The home-made loom against the wall,
Where back and forth the shuttle flies,
And slow the linsey-woolsey grows,
As patient skill the weaver plies.

Above the door on wooden hooks,
  Convenient hangs the old smooth-bore;
A trusty flint-lock, charged and primed,
  And good at forty yards and more.

Here's grandma's rocking-chair that's made
  Of hickory withes, bent so and so;
A fawn skin stretched from side to side,
  Supplies the cushion seat below.

This Linn-wood trough on rockers fixed,
  In royal style the baby bore;
And to and fro the lullaby,
  It timed upon the puncheon floor.

The spinning-wheel, and fluffy rolls
  The maiden spins in endless threads,
As back and forth the wheel she twirls,
  And gaily sings and lightly treads.

Dressed in her linsey-woolsey frock
  On Sunday eve,—her cheeks aglow,
And wild flowers in her braided hair,
  Miranda waits her expected beau.

The old well-sweep and watering trough;
  The grape-vine swing beneath the oak,—
The trysting place where lovers say
  The sweetest words, were ever spoke.

Across the bleak and frozen waste,
  I hear the howling blizzard roar;
The drifting snow the window hides,
  And beats against the cabin door.

Fresh logs are piled upon the hearth,
The crackling flames drive back the cold;
The huddling children half afraid,
The mother's sheltering arms enfold.

Again the fierce prairie fire,
Sweeps onward in demoniac wrath;—
A seething, roaring wall of flame,
Leaving destruction in it's path.

I see the settlers helpless stand,
(The women white faced bowed in tears),
Gazing in silent grief upon
The ruins of the work of years.

But from the depth of their despair,
A glorious courage seems to spring,
That gives them strength to build anew,
And hope for what the days may bring.

Their's were the hearts to do and dare.
And loyal in the hour of need;
No matter whether rich or poor,
They questioned not of faith or creed.

Their generous hearts and helpful hands,
Poured out their Christian love, like wine;
And towering Church and brazen bells,
Could make their work no more divine.

Today across the gulf of years,
In retrospect, I see them all;
Those scenes of early frontier days,
Whose pictures hang in memory's hall.

That hardy band of brain and brawn,
  They builded greater than they knew;—
They lived the pure and simple life;
  From Nature, inspiration drew.

They heard the call from out the west,
  And westward on their course they led;
They bridged the streams and blazed the trails,
  The feet of Empire soon should tread.

The common luxuries of life,
  To them indeed were things unknown,
And where they delved and sweat and toiled,
  The palace homes of wealth have grown.

No truer lives were ever lived,
  In honest toil their years were spent;
And though they sleep in unknown grave,
  The country rounds their monument.

THE ATTITUDE OF GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN ON THE QUESTION OF SECESSION IN 1861.

By Halbert J. Strawn, Albion, Ills.

It would seem that after four years of gallant service in the Union army, coupled with the valuable services in rallying the people of Southern Illinois to the cause of the Union, and his long service after the close of the great conflict in uniting and cementing the Union, that no question would be raised at this late date as to the attitude of General John A. Logan on the question of secession in 1861, and yet within the past few months, while in conversation with an official of the state of Florida, he said with a sneer, "even the idol of Illinois, John A. Logan, did not know what side of the cause he would espouse until after he raised his regiment, and then decided his course by the flip of a quarter."

This statement recalled to my mind a conversation had with Mr. Charles Stewart of Albion, Illinois, in 1872, when politics and political feeling ran high, and a great many people could not forgive General Logan for his change in political front, and charges like the above were being made by many people. Mr. Stewart's statement was this, "In 1861, just after the battle of Bull Run I had occasion to visit Washington on a business mission. My business was with the commissary general of the army, and I naturally called on John A. Logan, our congressman, to go with me to the commissary general.

This he did and after we had finished our business, General Logan drove me around the city, pointing out the places of interest and the residences of many prominent men. He said to me, "many of these people are living here under the protection of the government and at the

same time rendering aid and assistance to the enemy. I tell you there is only one course for a patriot to pursue, that is to support the Union; I am going home and raise a regiment."

Logan went home, raised a regiment and his subsequent career is a matter of history. No volunteer officer achieved greater and few equal fame. Mr. Stewart is now an old man, and on my return from Florida, I called on him and he repeated the same statement made to me in 1872.

REPORT OF THE SECRETARY OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

May 14, 1913.

To the Board of Directors of the Illinois State Historical Society:

GENTLEMEN:

I beg to submit to you my report of the affairs of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year ending May 14, 1913.

The Society has grown and extended its influence largely during the year. We now have more than 1,300 members of all classes, including honorary members, annual members, life members, and press association members.

Of course our membership is principally resident of this State, but we have quite a number of former residents of Illinois who now live in other states but who have not lost their interest in their old home and who keep in touch with Illinois history through membership in this Society and its publications We have one life member who resides in Paris, France.

The Society has attempted this year to maintain the high standard of its publications and the Journal continues to create interest in all parts of the country. It does not attempt to compete with or rival the Illinois Historical Collections which are prepared with great labor and expense by special writers, but its editors wish it to be the special organ of the members of the Society, and they desire contributions from it, especially on matters pertaining to local history.

The editors and the Secretary of the Society make a special plea for information in regard to local historical

events, local records of any kind, collections of letters, and local books and pamphlets.

I wish each member would regard himself as a special committee or agent for his own locality, to hunt up for the Society such material. An urgent letter asking for aid in securing historical material of this nature was published in the April Journal of the Society. You are requested to carefully read this letter.

We have lost by death a number of our valued members. As notices of death and brief biographies appear in the Journal, I do not give them here.

The Society assisted in the observance of the Madison County Centennial at Edwardsville, on September 16, 1912. This was a notable and successful affair, and will serve as an example of what a county can accomplish. The Secretary sent some material to help in the historical exhibit and a committee from the Society and many members attended the dedication of the monument which was erected by the State to the memory of Governor Ninian Edwards and the pioneers of the county.

Committees have also been appointed to assist in the Edwards County and the St. Clair County Centennial observances in 1914. The Society held a special meeting on February 18, 1913. Mr. Meese and Mr. Thompson addressed the meeting. Mr. Thompson on his work on the Lincoln Way, and Mr. Meese gave an illustrated lecture on early Illinois. The meeting was largely attended.

The Douglas Centennial.

The State of Illinois officially observed, on April 23, 1913, the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Stephen A. Douglas. A joint session of the General Assembly was held at which time addresses were made by United States Senators Lewis and Sherman of Illinois, and Reed of Missouri. Mr. W. L. Davidson of Lewistown, Illinois, a friend of Senator Douglas and the editor of a paper in 1858, was one of the speakers.

Mr. Robert D. Douglas, of Greensboro, N. C., a grandson of Senator Douglas, was the guest of the State and made an interesting and appropriate address. Mr. Douglas was received with great enthusiasm and his resemblance to his grandfather was generally noted.

Centennial of the State.

The work for the celebration of the centennial of the State has begun. The Legislature has by joint resolution created a commission to plan for the centennial of the State's admission to the Union, in 1918.

This commission consists of ten members of the General Assembly, five Senators and five members of the lower House, President James, Professor Greene, Professor Garner, of the State University, and Dr. O. L. Schmidt and Jessie Palmer Weber, of the Illinois State Historical Society.

I now ask the members of this Society to give this matter earnest thought and then make suggestions to the Secretary of the Society, who is a member of the commission. Let us make our State's centennial memorable.

President James has said that as we celebrate a century of progress of the most wonderful republic the world has ever known and of a century of the life of one of the most remarkable of the states of this republic, it will be an opportunity for us to make this a celebration world-wide in its scope, and that it is none too soon to actively begin preparations.

It is to be hoped that we will have a new building for the historical and educational departments of the State by that time and that it will be thoroughly appropriate and beautiful. This building may be called the Centennial Memorial building.

Senator Logan Hay, of Sangamon county, introduced a bill for a new building for the Historical Society and allied interests. I regret that we are unable to report that very high hopes are entertained for the passage of

this bill as owing to the great demand for money and the necessary increased rate of taxation it does not seem likely that the necessary legislation for the building can be secured at this session of the Legislature. We are not discouraged by these conditions and we must continue to work for it, and the prospect of obtaining such a building as a part of the centennial celebration, as mentioned before, ought to be an aid and inspiration to us.

The Transactions of the Society for the past two years are in the hands of the printer. The great number of State boards and commissions, including many temporary or special ones, which are all required to make reports, make the pressure of public printing something enormous. As executive officers and their reports have precedence always, it means long delays for minor boards.

Other legislation for historical projects has also been discouraged.

Madison county, under the leadership of Senator Beall, Mr. Flagg, both members of this Society, and the other Representatives from that district, has been making a valiant struggle for the purchase and preservation of the Great Cahokia Mound.

Efforts are being made to secure for the State the site and remains of old Fort Chartres.

Also the white pine forests of Ogle county; this last named project has received great assistance from the State Federation of Woman's Clubs.

The State Park Board is recommending and assisting in the worthy objects and is attempting to extend its work by further improvements and more land at Starved Rock.

On June 14, Flag Day, the Illinois D. A. R. will hold a rally at Starved Rock, at which this Society will be represented by some members who are connected with both associations.

Our Journal grows in public favor constantly and our research work increases daily. Letters of inquiry on

many subjects are daily received. These require a large amount of research. This demand we attempt to meet, but during the legislative session especially this requires strenuous labor and exertion.

The collection of Lincoln material is growing every day. Many valuable additions having been made since my last report, some valuable manuscripts among them. These have been mentioned in the Journal. We purchase all new books about Mr. Lincoln and we keep the "old book man" busy searching for obscure material for us. We hope to have a list of our Lincoln books printed before the next celebration of Mr. Lincoln's birthday. These will be arranged according to the plan devised by Judge Fish, of Minneapolis, and known to Lincoln students as the "Fish Bibliography."

Genealogy.

Our genealogical department is making long strides, and is one of the most popular of the Library. The chairman of this department will make a report so it is only necessary for me to say that Miss Osborne, the chairman, has compiled a list of the principal genealogical warks in the Library which is now in the hands of the printer, and which will be a hand-book for central Illinois students of genealogy.

The Society has grown in every way. In strength, influence and membership. We ought not be satisfied with one single meeting or two a year. Most societies have quarterly meetings. We do not need elaborate programs more than once a year, but we ought to have meetings on historic anniversaries and we ought to be more helpful to local and new societies, and above all, pardon me for saying it, we need more activity in our committees and among the members of the Society. With so much to encourage us we ought to work harder to take our place as the leading historical society of the United States.

We are second to no state society in point of numbers, and we surely are second to none in the personnel of our members.

Dr. Snyder accuses me of wearing rose-colored glasses and I want to urge this Society to help me and yourselves in keeping our work, our realizations and our hopes, of the most roseate and optimistic colors. I thank you all on behalf of myself and my associates in the Library for your continued kindness and consideration.

Very respectfully,

JESSIE PALMER WEBER,

Secretary Illinois State Historical Society.

THE SEVENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOUNDING OF MONTICELLO SEMINARY, AT GODFREY, ILLINOIS.

This pioneer school for the higher education of women, the second in the State of Illinois, the Jacksonville Female Seminary being the first, was founded in 1838 through the generosity of Captain Benjamin Godfrey, who gave a site of fifteen acres and $53,000 for the erection and equipment of buildings. This was a princely gift for those days and the new institution started with exceptional resources.

It met with immediate encouragement, for the pioneers of Illinois were ambitious for their daughters to have the opportunities which their isolation from the schools of the east and south seemed to deny them. The roll of pupils of Monticello contains the names of women of the foremost families of the State and the celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the institution celebrated on June 3, 1913, was a gala occasion and a homecoming for the old Monticello girls from all parts of the country. Those who could not attend were asked to send written greetings and the reading of these letters was an interesting part of the exercises.

The life of Monticello may in some measure be divided into four periods. The first period being the very earliest history of the seminary under the principalship of Rev. Theron Baldwin from 1838 to 1843. The second, the period during which time Miss Philena Fobes was the principal. Miss Fobes was a teacher in the seminary from 1838, and upon the retirement of Dr. Baldwin, in 1843, she succeeded to the principalship. Miss Fobes was principal of the seminary from that time until 1866,

during which time the seminary made large strides and became one of the leading schools for the higher education of women in the west. At the recent celebration the ladies who were pupils under Miss Fobes were the guests of honor of the occasion. In 1867 Miss Harriet N. Haskell became principal and during her long directorship the institution held the high place it had acquired under the regime of Miss Fobes and made the advances necessary to keep pace with the times, adopting new methods of teaching and enlarging its equipment and resources. In November, 1889, the main building of the seminary was destroyed by fire and it was largely through Miss Haskell's efforts that the beautiful new buildings were erected.

Hundreds of women were educated at this seminary under the fostering care of Miss Haskell, and on the gala day they, of course, formed the greater part of the "home-comers." Miss Haskell labored for forty years for the seminary and on her death Miss Catherine Burrowes acted as temporary principal for two years declining an appointment as permanent principal. The present principal, Miss Martina C. Erickson, elected in 1910, is carrying on the labors and traditions of her predecessors and while with the greater competition of the present day her task becomes more arduous she is meeting with the success to which her talents and her labors entitle her.

Among the many interesting letters read at the anniversary meeting of June 3, 1913, was one from President E. J. James, of the University of Illinois, which we print in full as it contains much of interest to the students and friends of the seminary.

Letter from Edmund J. James, President of the University of Illinois, Read at the Anniversary of the Founding of Monticello Seminary at Godfrey, Illinois, June 3, 1913.

Madam Principal, Trustees and Faculty of Monticello Seminary: I accepted with great pleasure the invitation of Miss Erickson to say a few words on this extremely interesting occasion in appreciation of the great work which Monticello Seminary has done for education in Illinois and throughout the Mississippi Valley.

I have not had the pleasure of personal acquaintance with many of the teachers or students of this institution. I have never had the opportunity of visiting it in person. But the name Monticello Seminary is connected with my earliest recollections of educational discussions in my family.

My grandfather on my mother's side, Dr. Anthony Wayne Casad, of Lebanon, Illinois, was instrumental in bringing Miss Lucy Larcom to St. Clair county to teach and was the county examiner to give her a teacher's license. His farm house, which he called "Hebron," was situated not far from the school where Miss Larcom taught. My mother, Amanda Keziah—what delicious names they gave girls in those days!—was a pupil of Lucy Larcom's in the days when she taught in Looking Glass Prairie, and I have often heard her speak of the deep interest and abiding affection which Miss Larcom as teacher created in her. She was not very much younger than Miss Larcom herself, but she had not had as good educational opportunities as Miss Larcom and therefore profited by this intimacy with her teacher, which was all the greater because of the comparatively slight difference in their ages. When Miss Larcom subsequently went to Monticello Seminary and then back to her eastern home, she maintained correspondence with my

mother for some years in which she described the life and work of the people among whom she was living.

Subsequently a closer personal tie bound me to Monticello, when my favorite cousin, Ellen J. Casad, one of the most lovely women this great State ever produced, who had formerly been a pupil at Monticello, graduating with class of 1865, became for a time a member of the teaching staff. She carried with her to the end of her life, which was cut short, alas, in its very flower, a deep interest in everything which concerned the welfare of the seminary, and from her distant home in California, she kept track of everything that was going on at Monticello as long as life and strength lasted. An aunt of mine, Narcissa Ann Casad, also graduated at Monticello Seminary with the class of '65 if I am correctly informed.

Very few people realize what a great debt of obligation this commonwealth owes to Captain Godfrey and the other people who were associated with him as supporters and workers in this task of founding and developing a school for young women in this pioneer country. I am not, at least in my own opinion, an extremely old man, but I was born in the year which saw the passage of the first effective public school law ever placed upon the statute books of Illinois—so recent was the real beginning of our free school education. Up to that time education had been largely in the hands of peripatetic teachers or strolling instructors or of private schools organized by individuals or churches or communities, or, alas, most commonly in no hands at all; for the facilities for elementary, secondary and higher education were sadly lacking during the first fifty years of the life of this commonwealth. Fifty years passed away after the admission of the State to the Union before the people of the commonwealth were willing to consider the establishment of a State university, and then they would not have done it, if it had not been that failure to do so would have lost a valuable

federal grant in the shape of public lands made for this purpose.

In the last twenty-five years the growth of the State university has been phenomenal, but greater and more important than even this has been the remarkable development of the free public high school system throughout the State, although even it has not yet kept pace with the growth of population. But little of this great development, so honorable and beneficial to the State, would have been possible if it had not been for the work done by these early institutions for the education of young men and young women, founded by public spirited citizens, by the energy of educational or religious missionaries, supported by the sacrifice and toil of generations of contributors in this and other states.

We are certainly under a lasting debt of obligation to all those men and women who of their large or small resources contributed in the early days to the upbuilding of the educational interests of this great commonwealth.

We can best show our gratitude to these early pioneers in education by dedicating ourselves anew to the work which they began. We can best show our appreciation of what Captain Godfrey and his associates did by helping to make a greater and better Monticello.

Some people seem to have an idea that because our public school system from the kindergarten to the university has been so fully developed, we no longer need the services of such institutions as this seminary. Not so. There never was a greater need of them. There never was a time when properly endowed institutions could do a greater service to the public than now, although it is naturally in some respects a different service from what it was in the thirties, forties, fifties and sixties of the last century.

I think the experience of modern nations for the last fifty years has demonstrated that no system of exclu-

sively state education and no system of exclusively private or church education can satisfy the multifarious needs of modern society. Both elements are needed; the one to supplement the other in order to have a well established system.

State education when in exclusive possession of the field tends to become mechanical and routine or else to be controlled by vagaries and the half-baked opinions of agitators and pseudo reformers; private education tends to crystallize into rigid forms redolent of antiquity, conservative of bad and good elements alike in the heritage of the past, unprogressive, unresponsive to the demands of the times, but when working side by side they stimulate and quicken each other, correcting the evils and strengthening the weaknesses especially incident to each.

The alumni and friends of this institution, therefore, in assisting it to a larger and better founded life will not only be aiding their alma mater as dutiful children should, but they will be rendering to public education itself a distinct service as every public spirited citizen should desire to do.

The University of Illinois extends to Monticello Seminary the most hearty congratulations upon its long and useful career and wishes for it an uninterrupted course of still greater prosperity and greater service to Illinois and the nation.

DEPARTMENT OF REPRINTS

ROBERT KENNICOTT.

From the Western Monthly Magazine, Vol. III, March, 1870, No. 15, pp. 165-172.

By J. W. Foster.

We indite this sketch as a labor of love. We knew Robert Kennicott living; we admired the noble qualities of his heart; we appreciated the value of his scientific labors; we mourn him as one who has passed to a premature grave. The materials for this sketch, fortunately for us, are at hand. They are extracted from an elaborate memoir in Part II, Volume I of "The Transactions of the Chicago Academy of Sciences."

Kennicott was a Chicago man. In this city his memory is cherished by a wide circle of friends; the Academy is full of the fruits of his labors; and his grave is almost in sight of our temples. In this great mart of trade, through whose streets each day surges a tide of humanity made up of individuals nearly all of whom are eager, restless, and intent on gain, it is refreshing to meet with one who turns his back upon these pursuits and dedicates his life to science. Of such a nature was Kennicott—pure, loving and childlike, and ready to undergo any privation to add to the sum of human knowledge. Robert Kennicott, the son of Dr. John A. and Mary Kennicott, was born at New Orleans, November 13, 1835, and, while yet an infant, his parents moved to Illinois, and selected as their residence a tract of land about eighteen miles north of Chicago, which they christened "The Grove." This place his father, who was passionately fond of horticulture, laid out in walks, and planted with shrubbery

and flowers. The quiet beauty of the scenery and the genial hospitality dispensed by the Doctor made this a place of resort for scientific men. It was amid such surroundings that Robert grew up and received those indelible impressions which influenced his whole career in life.

In early youth his health was so delicate that it was doubtful whether he could be reared; but as he approached manhood he became lithe and sinewy, and, as proved by his subsequent career, capable of undergoing the hardships of distant and hazardous expeditions.

He early evinced a love for natural history—a love which his father, from his own pursuits, did not discourage; and to afford ample scope to prosecute these pursuits, he was, in the winter of 1852-3, sent to Cleveland, that he might avail himself of the instructions of that veteran observer, Dr. J. P. Kirtland. He could not have been more fortunate in the selection of a teacher. Dr. Kirtland yet survives,[1] honored and respected wherever science is cultivated. Through him young Kennicott was commended to the Smithsonian Institute, and Professors Henry and Baird, the secretary and assistant secretary of that institution, rendered him efficient assistance in all his subsequent explorations.

Returning to his home, in the summer of 1853, Robert, at the age of eighteen, entered at once on his great life work. He made collections of the fishes and reptiles of the neighborhood, "discovering," say his biographers, "many new species, and extending the geographical range of others." He assisted the late Dr. Brainard, of Chicago, in his experiments on the venom of the rattlesnake, the results of which are published in the Smithsonian Reports. The next year he joined Dr. Hoy, of Racine, eminent as an ornithologist, with whom he studied the character and habits of the birds common to the region, and particularly the insessorial birds. The summer of 1855 was devoted to making collections in natural history for

[1] Dr. Jared Potter Kirtland, died Cleveland, Ohio, Dec. 10, 1877.

the State Agricultural Society, and the Illinois Central Railroad Company afforded him every facility for traversing their lands and in transmitting his collections to his home. That winter he attended a course of medical lectures at Chicago, with a view of qualifying himself as a physician.

During the summer of 1856 he united with others in organizing "The Chicago Academy of Sciences," an institution in whose success he evinced ever after the warmest interest, and of whose museum he died the director. In fact, the foundation of what has now become a magnificent collection in natural history was laid by Robert Kennicott.

That fall he exhibited at the State Agricultural Fair, held at Alton, a rich collection of the fauna of the State, for which he received a prize; and during the ensuing winter he communicated to the Patent Office Report (Agricultural) a description of the mammals of the Northwest.

In the winter of 1856-7 he resumed his attendance upon a course of medical lectures; but his failing health compelled him to desist. It would seem that only in the field, under the broad canopy of heaven, breathing its pure air and studying the works of nature, could be vouchsafed to him a reasonable modicum of health.

In the spring of 1857, through the influence of Dr. Evans, he was detailed to make collections for the museum of the Northwestern University. He spent three months in Southern Illinois, and his discoveries were important. His biographers record this incident as occurring at this period of his life:

> "Desirous to prove positively the existence of the poisonous serpent called water-moccasin (Trigonocephalus Piscivorous) in Southern Illinois he offered a reward of five dollars for the first living specimen which should be brought to him. The reward soon procured one, which settled the question. Soon

afterwards, however, a strapping 'Sucker,' as the natives of Southern Illinois are called, discovered another specimen, and not knowing that the prize had already been awarded, he managed to capture the dangerous reptile, and, bringing it in with him, claimed the five dollars. Kennicott explained that the five dollars was only offered for the first specimen, and that it had already been paid. The claimant, however, deemed himself imposed upon, and announced his intention of flogging the man of science. Kennicott at once stooped down, apparently to examine whether the specimen was really a moccasin, and then, seizing the snake just behind the head in such a manner as to be safe from being bitten himself, he held it aloft, with its body writhing in the air and its gaping jaws and forked tongue facing the enemy. Being thus master of the situation, he dared the vengeful 'Sucker' to the fight; but the latter, struck with astonishment, concluded that he had no stomach for a battle with such weapons, and quickly subsided into a fit of admiration for a man who thus dared brandish water-moccasins in his hands."

That autumn we find him visiting the region of the Red River of the North, making rich collections, which were shared by the Northwestern University and the Smithsonian Institution. On his return he arranged that portion of his collection sent to the Northwestern University, and then proceeded to the Smithsonian, where he formed, for the first time, the personal acquaintance of Professors Henry and Baird. They found him a young man of slender form, with black hair and eyes, an open and generous face, of simple habits, and with a heart that knew no guile. There was something about him which at once commanded your confidence and admitted him to your friendship. While here he embodied his observations on the serpents of North America, in a series of articles which subsequently appeared in the "Proceed-

ings of the Academy of Natural Sciences" of Philadelphia, and in the "Mexican Boundary Survey," published by the Government.

Here he was initiated into the "Megatherium Club"—so called, not because the members were a set of fossils, but because they made use of certain ululations and war-dances which they had seen practiced in the western wilds by the savages, and hence those who were so unfortunate as to reside in the neighborhood called them "wild beasts"—a society made up of young naturalists and men who were or had been attached to scientific surveys. Of the members, many are dead, and others are scattered to the four quarters of the earth; but wherever they may be, the living will recur to these meetings with the most agreeable recollections. In this club Kennicott was a bright and shining light, and no voice was more cheery than his in these gatherings, where all restraint was thrown off after the labors of the day were over.

And now, O grave and spectacled readers! as you read this passage, let not your brow contract into a frown. The nerves of no man can be maintained in a state of constant tension. There must be intervals of relaxation, when cares may be cast aside and when the social qualities may be brought into full play. Deny not to the scientific man that feast of reason and that flow of soul which, by the customs of society, are freely accorded to men engaged in other pursuits.

In 1859 Kennicott entered upon a wider field of exploration. He determined to explore and collect the fauna of the Arctic regions, with regard to which little was known apart from the researches of Sir John Richardson. The funds to defray the expenses of the expedition—Kennicott receiving nothing for himself—were contributed by the Smithsonian Institution, the Audubon Club of Chicago, and a few private individuals. The Hudson's Bay Company lent their co-operation.

Accordingly, in the spring of the year he proceeded from Chicago, by steamer, to Collingwood, on Lake Huron, thence embarked on board another steamer, which conveyed him to Fort Williams, on the northwestern shore of Lake Superior, where he found pleasant quarters. This was on the ninth of May. The ice had broken up but four days previously, but was yet solid in Dog Lake, which lay in their route. This circumstance delayed the departure of the canoes northward until the nineteenth of May, when he left Fort Williams. His escort consisted of three of the Hudson's Bay Company's canoes, bound for Lake Winnipeg. He proceeded up the Kaministiquoia River, and viewed the magnificent waterfall of that stream; crossed Dog Portage, about two miles in length, over a high and hilly country; and reembarked on Dog Lake, a pretty sheet of water about twelve miles long, with rocky shores and a number of picturesque islands, after traversing which he entered Dog River, which flows into the latter lake. At this point he remarks that he first met with the Canada jay; but we have found it common on the southern shore of Lake Superior.

The voyageurs then entered Lac des Mille Lacs, an exceedingly picturesque body of water, studded with thousands of rocky islets. While thus gliding along through these pure, cold waters, with the trained eye of a naturalist he notes the character of the vegetation, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the water.

It is well known that the isothermal lines curve abruptly to the north as they pass west of longitude 90°. This fact did not escape Kennicott. He remarks thus: "The spring appeared much more advanced as we moved westward. The few days that had passed since we left the height of land could not alone have produced the great advance in the development of vegetation observed at this point." At the head of La Riviere Maligne the voyageurs jumped the rapids, and Kennicott admired the ease with

which they managed their canoes amid the whirlpools and tumultuous waves.

They passed through Rainy Lake and entered the Lake of the Woods, which is dotted with numerous islands, low and rocky. Leaving the Lake of the Woods they entered Winnipeg River, and after twenty-four days' voyaging from Lake Superior, he reached Norway House. Lake Winnipeg is not less than two hundred miles in length, and as late as the fifteenth of June snow and ice were visible. Crossing the lake they ascend the Saskatchewan to Cumberland Lake. At Methy Portage they attained the water-shed between Lake Superior and the Arctic Ocean, which Richardson estimates at only fourteen hundred feet above the sea-level.

Reaching Fort Resolution, at the mouth of Slave River, they coasted around the southwest side of Slave River to the head of Mackenzie's River, and descended that stream to Fort Simpson, where they arrived August fifteenth. Here potatoes and barley are raised; the residents possess fine oxen and cows; but the principal meat is dried reindeer and moose. Snow begins to fall early in October and ice to drift in the stream about the middle of the month. The greatest cold ever known was 62°, and 50° is not uncommon. At this post Kennicott took up his quarters for a time, and then made a trip with two dog-trains to Fort Laird, near the base of the Rocky Mountains, two hundred and sixty miles distant, returning to Fort Simpson in March, 1860. He visited many of the neighboring posts, and as the spring approached he found congenial occupation in noting the arrival of the birds, studying their mode of nesting, and collecting their eggs. The most important observation, perhaps, in this connection, was that many of the California birds, never seen in the eastern part of the continent, resort here for their breeding places and as a summer residence. This would indicate a sinking down of the Rocky Mountains in their northern prolongation; for farther south the

snowy ranges serve as a barrier to the migration of many kinds of birds.

In the fall of 1860 Kennicott descended the Mackenzie as far as the mouth of Peel's river, latitude 67° 30′, and thence proceeded westward crossing the mountains, and arriving at Fort Yukon. Here he spent the winter and summer, chiefly employed in hunting and trapping. In August he retraced his steps to Peel's river, and then recrossed to La Pierre's house.

Let us give from out of Kennicott's journal a glimpse of Arctic life. The dog, it is well known, is absolutely necessary to man in traversing those vast and cheerless solitudes. A peculiar breed is employed.

> "The original stock," says Kennicott, "has probably been some large, strong dog and they have become hardier by a very slight intermixture with Indian dogs. Of course, the best dogs are bred from, and thus at last the general stock has come to possess peculiar strength and powers of endurance. * * * My four dogs are to me treasures beyond price. They form one of the strongest and best teams of the region, and their fortunate possessor is held in much higher esteem in consequence than he would be without them. * * * On a voyage, where several sleds go together, all go without stopping or unnecessary delay for from five to seven miles, when they stop to smoke and give the dogs a spell; and thus the distance is called a pipe or spell. * * * In a clear, calm, cold day, a brigade of sleds in motion presents a curious spectacle, the breath of the men and dogs forming a cloud which completely envelops and hides them; so that from a little distance, one sees only a large cloud moving along the track, out of which come queer cries of 'Scare chien mort!' 'Scare crapaud noir!' 'Marche!' 'Yeu!' 'Chah!' etc., with the occasional 'ta ta' of the whip, as loud as a pistol shot, and the call of the un-

> fortunate dog that is getting his lugs warmed. * * * When a voyageur gets vexed with a dog, he calls him 'black frog,'' 'little black dog,' (especially if he is large and white), 'geddie,' (Indian dog), 'pig,' 'carcajou,'' etc., but the expression they seem to think most severe of all is 'scare chien mort,' (d—d dead dog). A good dog is sometimes addressed as 'good man,' 'flyer,' 'the fool,' etc., and when a voyageur wishes to bestow the highest praise, he says, 'that's a dog.' ''

We would like to extract his enumeration and description of the fishes of the Arctic region, but our limits forbid.

Kennicott records several instances to show to what great distances sounds are conveyed in an intensely cold atmosphere—of a dog call heard thirteen miles, and the sound of wood choppers twenty-five miles.

In the spring of 1862, Kennicott returned to Fort Simpson, where he heard news from home that required his immediate return. He accordingly set out. At Methy Portage he was so unfortunate as to lose his collection of Yukon fishes. In the latter part of August he arrived at Fort Garry, and thence passed to Pembina and St. Paul, arriving at Chicago October seventeenth. In reference to the value of these investigations, his biographers say:

> "The magnitude and importance of the results of the Arctic-American expedition were now becoming very generally known and acknowledged. The collections of Mr. Kennicott—large in themselves and being rapidly increased by the contributions of his friends, the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, whom he had inoculated with a portion of his zeal—were being distributed among specialists for study; and the reports of these workers spread before the world a store of new facts in natural history."

Kennicott offered to relinquish his portion of these collections to any institution in the city which would make suitable provision for their reception. This offer was accepted by the trustees of the Chicago Academy of Sciences; and Professor Henry, of the Smithsonian, to promote the study of natural history in the west, tendered duplicates of whatever specimens there were in the institution over which he so ably presides. To the museum thus inaugurated, Kennicott was assigned as curator, a position which was in full accordance with his tastes and pursuits. Everything seemed to concur to make the future of his life agreeable. He had made collections in natural history which would have required a lifetime to describe. He was in correspondence with scientific men in every quarter of the land, and at home he enjoyed the friendship of a large circle of intelligent and liberal-handed men, who were ready to second all his efforts in behalf of natural history; and in Professors Henry and Baird, of the Smithsonian, he had two tried and trusty friends, to whom he could freely resort for advice and instruction.

But of what avail were these advantages to the restless mind of Kennicott, when he saw a new and unexplored field spread out before him, into which he was invited to enter? They did not weigh a feather in the balance. He could have accomplished more toward establishing an enduring fame by describing what he had already collected, than by making fresh accretions to his already vast storehouse of objects, and confiding their investigation to other minds. But Kennicott had such a generous nature, had such an unselfish devotion to science, that these considerations were not allowed in the least to influence his action.

In the winter of 1864-5, the Western Union Telegraph Company resolved to send out an expedition to Alaska and Behring's Strait, to explore a route on which to establish a line of communication to reach around the

world, and knowing Kennicott's experiences in Arctic life, they tendered him a position. What made the offer more agreeable was the fact that Kennicott was allowed to select a corps of young naturalists, whose collections were to go jointly to the Smithsonian Institution and the Chicago Academy of Sciences, both of which had contributed in providing for a complete scientific outfit. Kennicott's party was composed of I. T. Rothrock, botanist; W. H. Dall, H. M. Bannister, W. H. Ellicott, Charles Pease, Ferdinand Bischoff, zoologists and geologists; and G. W. Maynard, volunteer. They sailed from New York March 21, 1856, arrived at Greytown, Nicaragus, on the thirty-first, proceeding up the San Juan river in open boats, re-embarked on the Pacific side, and arrived at San Francisco, April 25.

The delay and annoyances to which Major Kennicott—for we must now and henceforth give him his military title—was subjected, we need not dwell upon. If Colonel Bulkley, the commander of the expedition, now, after the lapse of years, can review with complacency this portion of his life, we have only to say that he is differently constituted from most men. It would be trite to quote what Shakespeare says about men dressed up with "little brief authority." Embarking at San Francisco, the party proceeded to Sitka, and on the twenty-second of August left for Norton Sound. St. Michael's (Norton Sound) is the headquarters of the Russian fur trade in the Yukon valley. A "toy" steamer, for the exploration of the river, which had been despatched at great expense around "The Horn," was found to be worthless. With an outfit ill-appointed and ill-provisioned, Kennicott was left upon that inhospitable shore, and but for the kindness of the Russian authorities, the expedition would have been incapable of moving.

On the tenth of December, Major Kennicott left for Unalakleet. He immediately commenced active operations. All hands were employed in transporting the

equipment across the portage of Nulato—the object being to ascend, with dogs and sleds, the Yukon or Kwichpak river to its head waters, as soon as a crust had formed sufficiently strong to travel on, and failing to reach the desired point, to push on in canoes on the breaking up of the ice in the spring—a plan gallantly carried out by Captain Ketchum a year later. But these apparently well-laid plans were frustrated. March came with warm weather which thawed the crust of snow. The Yukon dogs were worthless from short rations and hard work. The whole country, verging to the starvation point, did not contain such a surplus of provisions as was necessary to fit out a single expedition.

> "The Major," using, we presume, the language of his faithful assistant, Mr. Dall, "bore bravely up under these disappointments, and set to work with his unusual energy, arranging a plan for the summer explorations under the new circumstances; and that settled, he went out, attended by an Indian or two only, on the bleak, desolate mountains of Nulato, looking for a pass to the sea coast, and gathering materials for a map of the country. The natural history work had hitherto been almost entirely neglected; this, also, was a serious disappointment to him. His sufferings, physical and mental, during the period when he was on those forbidding mountains, can be but faintly realized from a few chance words he afterwards let fall. His was the Spartan courage which suffered and gave no sign. After his return, however, he seemed to throw off, in great part, his feeling of dejection. The life-pulses of spring, beating in the vegetable and animal world, cheered and enlivened him no doubt. He began to enjoy the gradual approach of leaves, birds and salmon and thought less of the annoyances of the dreary winter season."

There is little doubt that Major Kennicott had had such premonitions as convinced him that he would not die of a lingering disease, but that his struggle with death would be sharp, short, and decisive. At this period he moved about with a quiet air; he was not sad, but apparently grave and reflective. His instructions were couched in this significant proviso—"in case of any accident happening to me." He wrote a note to the engineer-in-chief of the expedition—as if to vindicate his name and memory with posterity—briefly recounting the obstacles he had encountered, and asservating that he had done his best to carry out the objects of the expedition. This was between four and five in the morning of the thirteenth of May.

"The sun," says Mr. Dall, "was shining brightly out of doors; and, much relieved by thus having provided for any emergency which might come to pass, he asked Ketchum, who was half-dozing on the bed, to come out and walk with him. Ketchum excused himself, as he had hardly rested from the hard work of the previous day. The Major stepped out, and, for a few moments, Ketchum heard him walking up and down in the yard outside, humming a lively voyageur's song. Tarentof afterwards related with tears in his eyes, how, passing out of the stockade to the beach, in front of the fort, where the ice-laden waters were hurrying toward the sea, the Major had nodded a "good morning," and used the Russian salutation—s' dras-dui—the last words he spoke to living man.

"About eight o'clock breakfast was put upon the table, but no one knew where the Major was. After some delay, as he did not come, they sat down; but every one felt anxious, as he was usually most punctual at the table. Directly after breakfast all dispersed in search of him, but he was not to be found. All were now seriously alarmed, and went out again

for a more careful and extended search, taking all the Indian and Esquimaux servants with them.

"Mike Lebarge and an Esquimaux lad named Lunchy, went south from the fort toward the Nulato River, along the soft muddy beach. A dark object, a few hundred yards from the fort, caught Mike's eye. On approaching, their worst fears were more than realized. On the beach was placed the Major's pocket-compass, and lines indicating the bearings of the various mountains in sight, drawn in the soft alluvium, showing that he had been busy in adding to his material for the map of the country around Nulato when death took him. His remains lay as he had fallen; not an emotion, not a struggle after he fell. His death had been quick and painless; as his life had been noble and generous. He lay upon his back, his arms across his breast; his hat—a black felt broad-brim—just touched his forehead with one edge, so that hardly a breath was needed to displace it. His eyes were half closed, and his face calm and peaceful.

"His body was taken up tenderly and carried into the house, and laid out. * * * * His companions were determined that his remains should not rest in the frozen earth of the Yukon Valley, but that they would afford his relatives and friends the sad consolation of laying them beneath the green turf of the State of his adoption."

That resolve was carried out, and his remains were conveyed to "The Grove," and there, in the presence of his family and a large circle of friends, were consigned to their last resting place. This was during one of the coldest days of January, 1867; and as the cortege moved on, the birds (particularly the black-cap titmouse) gathered in great numbers on the trees, and as the coffin was lowered into the grave, a flock of quails approached and gave forth a call—not the cheerful notes "Bob

White,'' so familiar to us in the bright days of spring and summer, but the plaintive note uttered when the night is coming on and the flock is to be gathered for repose—a circumstance almost ominous, as though the birds, whose habits he had studied so long, and whose song he loved so well, desired to sing a requiem over his grave.

While thus the remains of Robert Kennicott repose amid the scenes which are intimately associated with his youth and to which, when a wanderer in distant lands, his affections ever turned, there stands, at Nulato, upon the desolate shore of the Northern Pacific, a tablet and cross erected by his associates, and bearing this inscription:

To The Memory

of

ROBERT KENNICOTT,

NATURALIST,

Who died near this Place,

May 13, 1866,

Aged Thirty.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

JOURNAL OF
THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
Published Quarterly by the Society at Springfield, Illinois.
JESSIE PALMER WEBER, Editor-in-Chief.

Associate Editors

J. H. Burnham	H. W. Clendenin	Andrew Russel
Wm. A. Meese	George W. Smith	Edward C. Page

Applications for Membership in the Society may be sent to the Secretary of the Society, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Ill.

Membership Fee, One Dollar, Paid Annually. *Life Membership, $25.*

VOL. VI. JULY, 1913. No. II.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of the Society took place on May 15-16, 1913, in the State capitol building at Springfield.

It was a noteworthy event in that an effort had been made to have addresses given on the history of the religious denominations of the State and these papers were read in most instances by men distinguished in the councils of the churches whose history they presented. These when published will make a volume of great interest and historical value.

The annual address before the Society was given on Thursday evening by Hon. George A. Lawrence, of Galesburg. Mr. Lawrence spoke on "Benjamin Lundy, Pioneer of Freedom." Members of the Society and citizens generally who failed to hear this address missed an opportunity to hear a paper of unusual interest.

The paper is published in full in this number of the Journal and it will also appear in the 1913 Transactions of the Society.

The wife of Mr. Lawrence accompanied him on this occasion and as Mrs. Lawrence is the State Regent of the Illinois Daughters of the American Revolution, the Historical Society invited the Springfield Chapter of the D. A. R. to attend the annual reception which was held in the State Library. This reception was well attended, and was a beautiful affair. A committee of ladies of the Society had charge of it and it was due to their efforts that the reception was so enjoyable. The members of this committee were Mrs. I. G. Miller, Mrs. F. M. Jamison, Mrs. A. W. Sale and Mrs. G. W. Leaverton.

The business meeting of the Society was held on the morning of the second day of the session instead of the first morning. The reports of officers and committees were read and the annual election of officers occurred. Col. Clark E. Carr, our honored president, was not in the best of health at the time of the meeting, but happily he is now in much better health than he was at that time.

He presided over the meeings, except the last session, at which time he addressed the Society and his remarks were most eloquent and beautiful. The nominating committee reported to the Society through Hon. Andrew Russel, one of its members, that they recommended to the Society for its officers for the ensuing year the following named officers: Honorary President, Clark E. Carr, Galesburg; President, Otto L. Schmidt, Chicago; First Vice President, W. T. Norton, Alton; Second Vice President, L. Y. Sherman, Springfield; Third Vice President, Richard Yates, Springfield; Fourth Vice President, George A. Lawrence, Galesburg. Directors—Edmund J. James, President of the University of Illinois, Urbana; J. H. Burnham, Bloomington; E. B. Greene, Urbana; Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield; Charles H. Rammelkamp, Jacksonville; J. O. Cunningham, Urbana; George W. Smith, Carbondale; William A. Meese, Moline; Richard V. Carpenter, Belvidere; Edward C. Page, DeKalb; J. W. Clinton, Polo; Andrew Russel, Jacksonville;

Walter Colyer, Albion; James A. James, Evanston; E. M. Bowman, Alton. Secretary and Treasurer, Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield. Honorary Vice Presidents, the presidents of local historical societies.

The report of the nominating committee was adopted by the Society and the Secretary was directed to cast the ballot for the persons named in the report of the committee, which she did, and the above named persons were declared elected as the officers of the Society for the coming year. Mr. Russel, in presenting the report spoke at length of the labors of Colonel Carr in behalf of the Society and of the appreciation of the members of the Society of these services. He said that the Society desires to avail itself of the services, advice and counsel of Colonel Carr and at the same time to relieve him of the burden of the active work, so it had been decided to elect him honorary president of the Society for life.

This action of the committee was ratified by the Society and great pleasure was expressed by many members that this mark of high appreciation was shown to Colonel Carr. A paper prepared by Mr. H. W. Clendenin on the life and labors of the late Paul Selby was read by the Secretary. Mr. Clendenin was present, but on account of his having had a serious affection of his eyes he preferred having the paper read by the Secretary. Mr. Richard V. Carpenter presented a most interesting address on the life of the late Gen. Smith D. Atkins. General Atkins was a man of strong and unusual character and Mr. Carpenter in a most clear and forceful manner told of some of the events of this long and eventful life. Prof. Greene read a most instructive and enlightening paper on the public archives of Illinois. This paper is published in full in this number of the Journal.

After the meeting of the Society the Secretary received a letter from Mr. E. M. Bowman, of Alton, who had been elected a member of the Board of Directors of the Society, saying that owing to a contemplated trip to Europe

of a considerable duration he could not accept the position as a member of the Board of Directors of the Society. The President and Directors of the Society therefore elected Mr. H. W. Clendenin of Springfield a member of the Board of Directors to fill this vacancy.

On Friday evening an address on the "Lincoln Poor White Myth" was delivered by Prof. O. B. Clark of Drake University, DesMoines. Professor Clark presented in an able and convincing manner some new thoughts as to the heredity and early environment of Abraham Lincoln.

Mr. Frank E. Stevens, of Dixon, Illinois, spoke on "Stephen A. Douglas, the Expansionist." Mr. Stevens, as much as any man, has studied the life of Douglas. His address was one of unusual scope and his long study and consequent knowledge of his subject gave a personal touch to the address which was much appreciated.

The program was for the most part carried out as printed. All of the papers presented will appear in the transactions of the Society for the year 1913.

LAWS PASSED BY THE FORTY-EIGHTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF ILLINOIS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST TO THE MEMBERS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

At the opening of the session of the General Assembly Governor Dunne announced that it would be necessary for the State's law-makers to observe the strictest economy in making appropriations as the amounts absolutely necessary for the maintenance of State institutions etc., would be large and the tax rate for the next biennial period correspondingly high.

The bill for the new educational and Historical Society building was therefore not advanced, but the commission to make plans for it was continued and will make

a further report to the next General Assembly. A strong and earnest effort was made by the Representatives from Madison and St. Clair counties, lead by Hon. N. G. Flagg and Senator Beall, to obtain an appropriation for the purchase by the State of the Great Cahokia Mound. On account of the large amount of money involved it was not possible to secure this appropriation, but the historical value of the mound was recognized and by resolution the State Park Board is requested to look into the question of securing this most important archaeological monument in order that it may be preserved and maintained as a State park.

As will be remembered a letter was sent to the members of the Historical Society asking each member to write to Governor Dunne asking his approval of the bill carrying an appropriation for the purchase and preservation of the site of old Fort Chartres. We are glad to report that the Governor approved this bill and that now this historic site will be preserved for all time as the property of the State of Illinois.

Other laws of interest to Illinoisans who are students of State history are:

The creation of a commission for the celebration of the centennial, 1918, of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission into the Federal Union of the State of Illinois.

A full report of the plans of this commission will appear in the October Journal.

The commission is composed of five Senators and five Representatives, President E. J. James, of the State University, Professors E. B. Greene and J. W. Garner, also of the State University, and Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, President, and Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society. As President James and Professor Greene are Directors of the Historical Society it gives the Society good representation on the commission, as several of the members and senators who are members of the commission are also members of the

Society, notably Senators Hearn, Hay and Johnson.

This commission met for organization in Springfield on Tuesday, July 22, 1913. Senator C. S. Hearn, of Quincy, was elected chairman and Jessie Palmer Weber, secretary of the commission.

The members of the commission are Senators C. S. Hearn, Quincy; Logan Hay, Springfield; H. W. Johnson, Ottawa; Kent E. Keller, Ava; H. S. Magill, Jr., Princeton. Representatives John S. Burns, Chicago; James F. Morris, Springfield; C. C. Pervier, Sheffield; John Huston, Blandinsville; George B. Baker, Golconda, and E. J. James, E. B. Greene, J. W. Garner, University of Illinois; Otto L. Schmidt, Chicago; Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Illinois State Historical Society.

Other laws of particular interest to this Society are those authorizing:

A statue of Abraham Lincoln to be placed on State House grounds.

Statue of Stephen A. Douglas to be placed on State House grounds.

Preparation and care of burial places of Civil War veterans.

Monument to be placed at Fort Edwards on the Mississippi river near Warsaw, Illinois.

Appropriation for the Panama-Pacific exposition at San Francisco.

Appropriating money to pay expenses of veterans attending the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the battle of Gettysburg, at Gettysburg, Pa.

Act appropriating money to place a tablet to the soldiers of the War of 1812 in memorial hall, Springfield.

Appropriation for the expenses of participating in the Perry Victory Centennial celebration.

Appropriation for monument on battlefield of Kennesaw Mountain.

Appropriation for the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the emancipation of the negro race. A commission is created for this purpose.

Monument to Governor John P. Altgeld, Chicago, Ill.

Monument to Governor Thomas Carlin, Carrollton, Ill.

The above are the measures of special interest to the Historical Society. But many other measures of general interest were passed.

MARKED SPOT WHERE GENERAL GRANT CAMPED.

IMPOSING EXERCISES WERE HELD AT NAPLES, ILLINOIS, MEMORIAL DAY, MAY 30, 1913.

HISTORICAL PLACE IDENTIFIED WITH LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN LEADER IN CIVIL WAR IS REMEMBERED—ADDRESS BY MR. ENSLEY MOORE, OF JACKSONVILLE.

Rev. Alden J. Green of Bluffs in connection with a committee of citizens of Naples found two old boulders and arranged to have them placed on the site of Col. U. S. Grant's camp with the 21st Regiment of Illinois Volunteers, July, 1861. Special exercises were had at the "old camp ground" overlooking a beautiful view of the Illinois river Friday, May 30th.

The Naples committee, with Rev. B. D. Mallinson of the M. E. church arranged for good music by a chorus of ladies and had a platform decorated with the Union colors for the speakers, besides arranging for fine entertainment.

The exercises were opened by singing "America," and the invocation by Rev. Scott Peak of Exeter. The "Star Spangled Banner" was then sung and Mr. Mallinson made some introductory remarks and called upon the Rev. W. M. Hailey of Barry to make an address.

Mr. Hailey, who had formerly lived in Naples, made a splendid talk, referring especially to the memorial of our heroic dead. He had to have a text, he said, which was aptly chosen from Joshua 6-4-6: "And he spoke unto the Children of Israel, saying when your children shall ask their father in time to come saying, what mean these stones? Then shall ye let your children know." Then the speaker stated how and why the boulders had been chosen and placed to mark this historic camp site. Rev. Alden J. Green then asked all present who had seen Grant and his soldiers to write their names in a registry to be deposited at the court house in Winchester. He also called for a collection to defray expenses of the occasion.

Then Doctor Feeman of Westminister, Md., a native of Illinois, was introduced and spoke fittingly and well on "Grant as a Soldier."

Mr. Ensley Moore of Jacksonville followed with some introductory remarks, after which he read from his story of "Grant's First March," the part referring especially to Scott county and Naples.

"Pardon me, in beginning the story which distinguishes this spot, and is the special feature here of this day, if I say some personal things referring to Naples.

"Few people of this generation can realize the importance and value of a river town, before the war, to the surrounding country.

"Naples was one of the most prominent towns on the beautiful Illinois river, when I could first notice events and remember, and I then lived in Perry, eight miles west of here. Locomotives and cars are of interest to the minds of growing boys, but they had small attractiveness compared with the splendid boats which walked the waters like a thing of life, and made Naples their landing place, fifty or sixty years ago.

"It was my greatest local delight to come down to the river with my father—Joshua Moore—from Perry, and I

knew by sight, or as a child might, the leading men of this place for many years. I knew Frederick Collins, who built the 'big brick' house on the hill, and Peter D. Critzer, who lived there afterwards, and ran the ferry and a store. I knew old and young Royal Mooers, and Jacob Ensminger, and John H. Carver, and Dr. Mauck and Thomas Hollowbush, and Mr. Quinlan, at the depot, and old man Phillips who kept the hotel, and that fine old Irish gentleman, John McCluskey, who kept the other hotel, and the Keeners and Benjamin Green 'under the bluff,' and others, men and women and children. It is a long time I have known the old town, and it has always had a warm place in my heart.

"But we are met to think of the days when the 21st Regiment of Illinois Volunteer Infantry under command of Colonel Ulysses S. Grant was encamped upon this historic spot. I cannot too heartily thank those who have done me the honor of inviting me to take part in this Memorial Day remembrance of the days of '61 and of the heroes who carried the Star Spangled Banner to victory.

I shall now briefly sketch Grant's first march to the war, up to his entrance into Scott county, and more fully refer to his actions from Exeter to Naples and over to Gardner's in Pike county and his return to Naples and taking cars from here to Quincy. For it was at Naples that the march, as such, ended.

"The 21st Regiment was organized at Mattoon, Coles county, and mustered into service by Capt. U. S. Grant in May, 1861; the regiment being soon brought to Springfield, under its first colonel. He did not prove a success and on June 15th, 1861, Capt. Grant was appointed Colonel by that greatest war governor, Richard Yates.

Colonel Grant decided he could not better get his regiment to the field, than march the command to Quincy and from there cross into Missouri.

"So, on the afternoon of July 3, 1861, the 21st marched out of Camp Yates at Springfield and proceeded about

eight miles on the Jacksonville road to an encampment for the night about north of Curran station. The 4th of July was spent in marching to a point about nine miles east of Jacksonville on the farm of Mr. John Corrington. July 5th the regiment passed through Jacksonville in the forenoon and "bivouacked" for dinner at the Morgan county fair grounds, just west of the school for the deaf. As the soldiers passed our house on West State street I watched them go by and for the first time saw the coming hero, Grant. That afternoon the troops took their course out on the Naples road to Allinson's Grove ,about seven miles west, where they camped for the night. Saturday, July 6th, the soldiers marched on through Exeter and into Naples and up to this place where they were encamped over Sunday.

"About three years ago, I read the story of Grant's first march before the State Historical Society, at its annual meeting in Springfield."[1]

From this point Mr. Moore read from that paper regarding Grant in Scott county and in and about Naples.

At the conclusion of Mr. Moore's paper the Rev. Alden J. Green pronounced the benediction and the assemblage adjourned.

Prof. C. W. Taylor of Jacksonville was in attendance as were several old soldiers from different places.

THE McLEAN COUNTY SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

The monument was dedicated at Miller Park in Bloomington on the 30th of May, 1913. The design allows two passage ways through the base, crossing each other at right angles, thus making place for eight massive bronze tablets.

The dedication day was one of nature's most perfect days, and the attendance was the largest ever known in

[1] In Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society, 1910, pp. 55-62.

Miller Park. Highly appropriate addresses were delivered by former Governor Fifer, who was president of the day, by former Governor Deneen, by former Vice President A. E. Stevenson, and by the Rev. A. R. Morgan.

The monument cost, everything included, nearly $44,000. "It is constructed of light gray Bashaw Vermont granite and is a notable memorial, containing some unusually massive stones. It stands 81 feet and 10 inches high from the bottom of the east approach. The top bronze figure, twelve feet tall, entitled "The Color Bearer," depicts a young soldier in the full stride of the march. The westerly figure at the side is that of "Anxiety," a captain peering with thoughtful gaze into the distance. On the easterly side is the familiar "Picket" of war times, a stalwart figure of a young soldier.

"The bronze tablets contain the following divisions of soldiers: McLean county men in Civil War, 4,325; Civil War soldiers resident or buried here enlisting outside of county, 1,029; Revolutionary War burials in county, 11; War of 1812 burials in county, 114; County enlistments, Black Hawk War, 146; County enlistments, Mexican War, 58; Spanish War 320. The monument was designed by Dwight E. Frink of Bloomington, Frederick C. Hibbard, Chicago, sculptor."

SOLDIERS' AND SAILORS' MONUMENT AT PRINCETON DEDICATED ON THURSDAY, JUNE 12, 1913.

The Bureau county soldiers' and sailors' memorial was dedicated at Princeton, Illinois, Thursday afternoon, June 12, Bishop Samuel Fallows of Chicago delivered the dedicatory address.

The monument was erected by the people of Bureau county at a cost of $25,000 and occupies a site in the center of Memorial Park, opposite the Bureau county

court house. It was designed by Frederick C. Hibbard, a Chicago architect.

UNVEIL MONUMENT TO G. A. R.

Surviving Members of Columbia Post No. 706 Dedicate Shaft in Forest Home Cemetery, Chicago, June 8, 1913.

Surviving members of Columbia Post No. 706, G. A. R., bared their heads at Forest Home cemetery when Miss Ruth Reichelt pulled the cord that unveiled the monument.

The name of each dead member of the Post was called by Jasper T. Darling, Post Adjutant, after Bishop Samuel Fallows had pronounced the invocation.

"We dedicate here today a monument which will stand as an object lesson for the ages yet unborn," said Mr. Darling, "and you who are assembled here to take part in this ceremony, and I give here our testimony and say, I thank you.

"To the great masses a soldiers' monument may mean but little, but to you, my comrades, it is different; to your minds come back swiftly great memories of a mighty age, and a time when the tumult of war made the whole earth tremble beneath its vengeful tread.

"The storms of the centuries may sweep and surge around this monument; the ravages of time may successfully assail it, but the virtue of the valiant deeds wrought out by the "Boys in Blue" will endure as long as beacon fires burn, making bright the portals of this republic redeemed in martyrs' blood and dedicated to better days.

"And so looking down the vista, let us hope that the great achievements of the mighty past will not perish."

Benjamin R. DeYoung, second lieutenant of the Post, presented the deed to the ground and monument to Post Commander J. B. Richardson. Commander Richardson made a speech of acceptance.

STATUE OF STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS UNVEILED AT HIS BIRTH PLACE, BRANDON, VERMONT, JUNE 27, 1913.

Senator James Hamilton Lewis, of Illinois, delivered the oration at the unveiling of a statue of Stephen A. Douglas, former senator from Illinois, at his birthplace, Brandon, Vermont.

Senator Lewis referred to President Wilson's relations with the senate, comparing them with conditions when President Buchanan and Senator Douglas joined issues. He said:

"Senator Douglas signalled his entrance to the United States Senate by a break with the President of the United States—James Buchanan. The reasons for this break were of a nature now paralleled by the events encircling President Wilson and his Senate. Douglas demanded the distribution of public offices in support of his policies. President Buchanan differed from Douglas and permitted the patronage to be used against Douglas."

"President Wilson presents the opposite attitude. He puts the public good above the public office and declines either to give out offices to senators as compensation for their support or to penalize those who oppose him by denying them public patronage."

The monument, which is the gift of Albert G. Fair, of Chicago, is situated in front of the cottage where Douglas was born. Douglas' son, Robert M. Douglas, of Greensboro, N. C., was prevented by ill health from attending, but Martin F. Douglas, a grandson, spoke in behalf of the family.

A LETTER OF INQUIRY.

Tuesday, May 6, 1913,
34 Kensington Court Mansions, W.,
London, England.

Secretary Illinois State Historical Society:

DEAR SIR:

Dr. J. G. B. Bullock, of Washington, advises me to write to you and ask if you would very kindly insert in your periodical a query for me? I am at present engaged in compiling a complete history of the *Duff* family and am anxious to obtain details of any of that name now residing in America with their descents.

Yours faithfully,

CHRISTIAN N. TAYLER,

If any of our readers have any knowledge of the Duff family please communicate with Mr. Tayler.

CAPTAIN AND MRS. WILLIAM L. KYLE, OF ROGERS PARK, ILLINOIS, CELEBRATED THEIR GOLDEN WEDDING MAY 25, 1913.

There was a notable event in the chronicles of Rogers Park Sunday, May 25, 1913. Capt. and Mrs. William L. Kyle celebrated their golden wedding anniversary in the house where they began housekeeping in 1863.

The old house is at 7536 Ridge Avenue and is as quaint and likeable as the aged couple who still walk up and down "honeymoon path," where they walked as bride and bridegroom half a century ago. It probably is the oldest residence in Rogers Park. Nobody knows exactly the date when the house was built, but it was a mansion when the Kyles moved in.

Captain Kyle was master of the schooner Stampede when he was married.

In 1862 Captain Kyle's ship brought a bewitching young passenger to Chicago from Buffalo, N. Y. She was

on the way to visit her aunt at the residence of P. Goodwin, who owned a large share of Rogers Park.

It happened that Captain Kyle met the young passenger again in the "meetin' house," which used to be the school at Phillips avenue and Robey street. Her name was Helen Fisher.

When Miss Fisher returned to New York a few months later it was definitely understood she was to return soon. So on May 25, 1863, the captain tied up his schooner in the harbor at Buffalo and took a journey overland to Unadilla, in Oswego county, New York. The wedding was performed under the apple blossoms.

"It seems like a dream," said Captain Kyle, "to think back and notice the changes that have taken place. When we came here there wasn't a soul in Rogers Park whom we did not greet with 'Good morning.' In the winter time I used to skate over a great part of Rogers Park that is now built up."

PROSPECT PLACE, N. DIVISION ST., POLO, ILL.,
May 22, 1913.

MRS. JESSIE PALMER WEBER,
Sec'y Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield.

DEAR MADAM: I note what is said in the April Journal about the celebration of 1918 and the request for suggestions to be sent to you as Secretary of the committee.

Possibly my suggestions may have already occurred to you and the committee; if so this can be assigned to the waste basket. I note that Springfield is the only place indicated in the resolutions of the Legislature and it is all right that it should be the center of the celebration, but it seems to me that an agitation should be started at once for a celebration in every town and school district for a local celebration, aiming at an increased knowledge of the history of the State and of the local history of the especial community. For these two purposes the State Historical Society and the office of the State Superinten-

dent of Schools should co-operate in furnishing material for the aid of local committees and teachers.

It seems to me that this would contribute to greatly increase the interest in Illinois history and to foster a proper State pride.

The Puritan and the Cavalier have been the theme of eastern historians, while the founders and builders of Illinois have been ignored and Illinois is known today as a corn, beef and pork producer rather than the home of men whose record for all that appeals to the best in men is apparently forgotten. But I need not enlarge. This is the suggestion I would offer—Two addresses, one dealing with the State, the other with local history in every township.

Respectfully,

J. W. Clinton.

GIFT OF BOOKS, LETTERS AND MANUSCRIPTS TO THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

The following named books, letters and manuscripts have been presented to the Library. The Board of Trustees of the Library and the officers of the Society desire to acknowledge the receipt of these valuable contributions and to thank the donors for them:

Dedication of Douglas County Court House, June 12, 1913, Tuscola, Illinois, n. p. 8°, Journal Printing Co., Tuscola, Illinois, 1913. Gift of Dr. J. L. Reat, Tuscola, Illinois.

Waterman Year Book, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1905, 1906, (5 vols.) Gift of Geo. E. Congdon.

One Hundred and Thirty-eight Generations from Adam. Being a pedigree traced from Adam to the present time by George Edward Congdon. (1 vol.)

Sugar Grove and the Class of 1886. Being a chapter from the story of my life. By George Edward Congdon. (1 vol.) Gift of George Edward Congdon, Waterman, Illinois.

A copy of the Dedication of Carnegie Building. Ida Public Library, Belvidere, Illinois, 1913. Gift of Mr. John Crocker Foote, Belvidere, Illinois.

"Sherman's March to the Sea." Address of Farlin Q. Ball before the Borrowed Time club of Oak Park, Illinois, March 13, 1913. 11 p. 8°, Chicago, 1913. Barnard and Miller Print. Gift of Hon. Farlin Q. Ball, of Oak Park, Illinois.

The Massachusetts Hemenway family. Descendants of Ralph Hemenway of Roxbury, Mass., 1634. Rufus Hemenway. Compiled by Mary Hemenway Newton. Other lines collected and published by Clair Alonzo Newton. 41 p. 8°, Naperville, Illinois, 1912. Clair Alonzo

Newton, publisher. Gift of Clair Alonzo Newton, Naperville, Illinois.

Programs of the Tuesday Club, Wyoming, Illinois, 1900-1913. Map of the City of Toulon, Stark county, Illinois, drawn by T. H. Thompson, 1861. Lith. by Charles Shober, Chicago, Illinois, Gift of W. R. Sandham, Wyoming, Illinois.

Celebration of Penn's Landing by the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, October 26, 1912. 42 p. 8°, published by the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania. Printed by The Chester Times, 1913. Gift of the Colonial Society of Pennsylvania.

National Woman's Relief Corps Proceedings, 1899-1912. (12 vols.) Pub. Boston, Mass. Gift of the Association.

Obed Hussey, who of all inventors made bread cheap. Being a true record of his life and struggles to introduce his greatest invention, the reaper, and its success; as gathered from pamphlets published heretofore by some of his friends and associates and reprinted in this volume, together with some additional facts and testimonials from other sources. Edited by Follett L. Greeno, 228 p., 12°, Rochester, N. Y., 1912. Gift of Follet L. Greeno.

A Journey on Horseback Through the Great West in 1825. n. p. By Chester A. Loomis. Plaindealer Press, Pub., Bath, N. Y.

A Philosophical and Political History of the British Settlements and Trade in North America. From the French of Abbe Raynal, with an introductory preface to which is annexed an impartial history of the present war in America. Edinburgh, 1779. Printed by C. Denovan.

The two volumes above are the gifts of Dr. J. F. Snyder of Virginia, Ills., who has also given to the Illinois State Historical Library and Society three boxes of books, pamphlets and newspapers which have not as yet been listed.

Lincoln as We Knew Him (poem), by Dr. A. L. Converse, Springfield, Illinois. (4 copies) Published Springfield, Illinois, 1913. Gift of Dr. A. L. Converse.

Rock Island, Illinois, City Directory, 1912. Contains also Moline City Directory 1912. R. L. Polk & Co., Pubs. Gift of the publishers, R. L. Polk & Co., Chicago, 1912.

Twentieth Anniversary Souvenir Edition The LaSalle Tribune, 1891-1911. Gift of W. T. Bedford, publisher, LaSalle, Ills.

Original papers of William Orr. Gift of Dr. J. F. Snyder.

Photographic copy of a letter written by Abraham Lincoln to Col. James Patton, marked confidential. Dated Springfield, Ills., Sept. 29, 1856. Gift of Mr. W. L. Patton, of Springfield, Illinois.

Twenty-six photographic copies of original MSS., charts, etc. Gift of Miss Helen L. Allen, Springfield, Illinois.

Old account books, Oscar H. Pratt & Co., dated *Juliet*, Ills., 1836. Gift of Mr. Edward T. Norton, 30th & Fir streets, San Diego, Cal.

Collection of papers and letters relating to the Civil War, mostly by Illinoisans. The gift of Mr. John T. Loomis, managing partner of the W. H. Lowdermilk Co., Washington, D. C.

NECROLOGY.

DEATH OF DR. ALBERT ATHERTON, PLEASANT PLAINS, ILLINOIS.

Dr. Albert Atherton, a native son of Illinois, was born in Morgan county, Illinois, October 23, 1828. His father, Jonathan Atherton, was born in Dutchess county, New York, in 1803, and was a son of Rev. Theophilus Atherton, who was likewise a native of the Empire State. The family is of English lineage and was established in New York at a very early epoch in its history. They were relatives of the Harpers, so well known as publishers.

Rev. Theophilus Atherton, on removing westward about 1820, took up his abode in Pickaway county, Ohio, where he was engaged in the work of the ministry as a pioneer preacher of the Presbyterian church. He also engaged in teaching school and farming. Under the parental roof Jonathan Atherton was reared and after arriving at years of maturity he wedded Ann Johnson, a native of New York, born in Dutchess county. Her father was Richard Johnson, another of the early settlers of Pickaway county, Ohio. The marriage occurred about 1824, and in 1826 Jonathan Atherton removed with his wife to Illinois, becoming one of the first settlers of Morgan county. There he carried on farming on a tract of wild land, which he developed into a good farm, and upon that place he reared his family, and spent his remaining days. His death occurred in 1862. His wife survived him for several years and spent her last days with her son, Dr. Albert Atherton, at Pleasant Plains. There were three children of this union, the only surviving member now being Mrs. B. Howard (Alice Jane Atherton) of South Dakota.

Dr. Albert Atherton, at the usual age entered the common schools, later he attended Illinois College at Jacksonville. Wishing to make the practice of medicine his

life work he began studying in Arcadia, Illinois, and afterwards pursued a course of lectures in St. Louis in the winter of 1851-52. On completing the course he was graduated with the class of 1853, and he then located for practice in Sangamon county, Illinois, establishing his home in Cartwright township. He remained in this county and for over twenty years was in active practice. In the early days his patronage extended over a wide territory and he made long drives in order to alleviate human suffering and aid in the restoration of health. About 1870 he retired from active practice.

During the Civil War Dr. Atherton was a staunch and loyal defender of the Union. He was an earnest Republican since the organization of the party in 1856.

Besides his farming interests near Pleasant Plains he established a drug and grocery store in Pleasant Plains and continued in that business for several years.

In 1880 he became one of the organizers of a bank which was conducted under the name of Tracy, Beekman & Co., but is now carried on under the firm name of Atherton, Richardson & Co.

The doctor was married in August, 1856, to Miss Sarah Ann Hayes, a native of Lancaster, Pa. Her father, Augustus Hayes, was a native of that county and became one of the early settlers of Illinois.

There were seven children born to Dr. and Mrs. Albert Atherton, namely, Elma C., the wife of Robert Zane, of Jacksonville, Ill.; Albert, who is married and living in Jacksonville, Ill.; Mary Alice, wife of George Harnett, of Springfield, Ill.; Augustus, who is married and lives on his father's farm; Edward, who is married and holds a responsible position in the bank at Pleasant Plains; William, who is married and lives on a farm; Mabel, the youngest, at home. They lost two children, Franklin, who died at the age of four years, and LeRoy, who died in infancy.

Dr. Atherton was an active and devoted member of the Methodist Episcopal church of Pleasant Plains, and an active member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

His death occurred at Pleasant Plains June 12, 1913.

HARRY LINCOLN SAYLER.

"Harry Lincoln Sayler, general manager of the Chicago City News Bureau, who died at Indianapolis, May 31, following a stroke of apoplexy, was born at Little York, Montgomery county, Ohio, fifty years ago. He was graduated from DePauw University at Greencastle, Ind. In 1889 he married Miss June Elliott of Shelbyville, Ind.

"Mr. Sayler began his newspaper work in Indianapolis in 1886, moving to Chicago the year of his marriage. He entered the service of the Wright & Russell City Press Association of which he became assistant manager in 1890. Later he came into control of the organization jointly with A. S. Leckie and was afterwards made one of the managers of the City Press Association which was recently changed to the City News Bureau.

"Besides being an active member of the Illinois State Historical Society, he was a member of the Chicago Historical Association, and the Louisiana Historical Association, besides a number of Chicago clubs.

"Although Mr. Sayler's published works were mostly juvenile much of his leisure time was given to historical research. He was an authority on the pirates and had in his library authoritative and distinct history of the freebooters from Jean La Fitte down. He is survived by his widow and two children.

MISS MARY FRANCES CHENERY.

The Illinois State Historical Society has lost one of its early members in the death of Mary Frances Chenery, which occurred at her home in Springfield, Illinois, June 7, 1913.

Miss Fannie Chenery, as she was familiarly called, was the daughter of William D. and Abigail Partridge Chenery. She was born in Morgan county, Illinois. Her father was a well known citizen of Morgan and Sangamon counties and kept an hotel. The Chenery House in Springfield on the site of what is now the Illinois Hotel, on the corner of Fourth and Washington streets, was for many years the leading hotel of Springfield and central Illinois.

W. D. Chenery, the father of Miss Chenery, was the proprietor of this hotel and his family made its home in it. In those days the family of the proprietor felt its responsibility as hosts, and the daughters of Mr. Chenery had the opportunity of meeting regular patrons and distinguished guests.

Miss Fannie Chenery was a woman of unusual ability and great personal charm. She took an active interest in the great questions which were before the American people when she was just growing into womanhood. Her memories of those days and of the actors in them were very vivid and she at times delighted to talk of them. During the last ten years of her life she was in very bad health. She and her sister, Miss Susan Chenery, lived together and their home was the center of a large and generous hospitality. Miss Chenery is survived by this sister and by several nieces and nephews.

Miss Chenery was a member of the Presbyterian church. She was a member of the Springfield Chapter Daughters of the American Revolution and of the Illinois State Historical Society.

She was buried in Oak Ridge cemetery at Springfield.

MRS. MARY KOERNER ENGLEMANN.

Mary Koerner Englemann was born at Belleville, Ills., November 17, 1838. She was the eldest daughter of that noted German-American statesman of Illinois, Gustavus Koerner. She was married August 2, 1861, to Henry Englemann, her second cousin. Mr. Englemann was a geologist and at the time of his marriage to Mary Koerner he was assistant State Geologist of Illinois. During the term of office of Mr. Englemann as assistant State Geologist they made their home in Springfield. They afterward resided for several years at LaSalle, Ills. Mr. Englemann died some years ago.

Like all of the children of Mr. Koerner, Mrs. Englemann received a liberal education and she was a musician and a linguist. She was an early member of the Illinois State Historical Society. She resided for several years before her death at Clifton Park, Lakewood, Ohio, where she died in April, 1913. Mrs. Englemann left no children but is survived by one sister, Mrs. R. E. Rombauer, of St. Louis, and several nephews and nieces, children of deceased brothers and sisters.

MRS. ROSE WILKINSON, DAUGHTER OF GEN. USHER F. LINDER.

Mrs. Rose Wilkinson, daughter of General Usher F. Linder, the author of Linder's Reminiscences, died Thursday, May 15th, 1913, at the age of eighty-one years. She was born at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, near Abraham Lincoln's birthplace. The funeral was held Friday, June 16th, at 2 o'clock at 1921 Walnut street, Chicago, Ills.

She is survived by a son, Usher L. Wilkinson, and a daughter, Mrs. Lydia Daniels.

DEATH OF A REAL DAUGHTER OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, MRS. MARY PETTIGREW KEYES.*

Mrs. Mary Pettigrew Keyes, a real Daughter of the American Revolution and a member of Princeton Chapter, D. A. R., Princeton, Illinois, died March 17, 1913, after a brief illness. Had she lived until May 26th, she would have rounded out her century, for she was born May 26, 1813.

Mrs. Keyes was the daughter of William Pettigrew who served as a private in the American Revolution. He was the son of Alexander Pettigrew, who was of a family of Huguenots who fled from Europe for religious liberty, and settled at Grantham, N. H.

William Pettigrew was born November 6, 1757; when he was eighteen he ran away from home to join the Continental army at Claremont, N .H., where General Stark was recruiting. He is said by the family to have been sixth on the list in Gen. Enoch Poor's brigade. Afterwards he was assigned to the brigade commanded by Major General Sullivan, with headquarters at Ticonderoga, where they remained until the approach of the British forces under General John Burgoyne, in July, 1777.

Mary Pettigrew was born at Weathersfield, Vt. She taught in private schools until her marriage on September 29, 1839, to the Rev. N. A. Keyes, who was appointed to the Syrian Mission. At this post they remained for four years, when they returned to the United States. In 1855 they moved to Princeton, where Dr. Keyes succeeded Owen Lovejoy as pastor of the Congregational church.

* The Illinois State Board of Health has presented to the Illinois State Historical Library a copy of the certificate and record of death of Mary Pettigrew Keyes (widow). Occupation, school teacher; born May 26, 1813, died Princeton, Illinois, March 7, 1913. Age 99 years, 9 months, and nine days. Daughter of William Pettigrew (birthplace Grantham, N. H.) and Mary Alden (birthplace, Warwick, Mass). William Pettigrew was a Revolutionary soldier and Mary Alden was a direct descendant of John Alden.

Physically frail always, but mentally brilliant, Mrs. Keyes was a remarkable woman and an inspiration to the members of Princeton Chapter, who ministered to her lovingly.

DEATH OF THE OLDEST LADY IN SOUTHERN ILLINOIS, MRS. ELIZA PEARCE.

Mrs. Eliza Pearce died suddenly Sunday morning, May 18, 1913, at the home of her son, J. J. Pearce, near Ewing, Ill., at the age of 102 years, 3 months and 18 days. The funeral was held at two o'clock Monday afternoon in the Webb Prairie Primitive Baptist church, and interment in the cemetery near by. Rev. W. I. Carnell, of Lebanon, Ohio, conducted the funeral.

Mrs. Pearce was born in Johnson county, N. C., in 1811, and celebrated her 102nd birthday the first of last January. She was the daughter of the late Mr. and Mrs. Henry Rains and was the oldest child of a family of seven children, two of whom are still living. They are: Mrs. Jane Longley, of Princeton, N. C., and Mrs. Elizabeth Phillips, of Dillon, Mont.

At the age of twenty-one Mrs. Pearce was married to Richard Pearce. Shortly after their marriage Mr. and Mrs. Pearce took up their residence in Tennessee. Living there only one year, they left for Illinois in 1833, settling in Saline county. They claimed that county as their home for ten years, when they moved to Benton.

After moving to Jefferson county and residing there for six years, the family moved to Franklin county, and located near the present home of their son, J. J. Pearce, where she died. In this home her husband died in 1866. Since then Mrs. Pearce has lived with her son, J. J. Pearce.

This centenarian, who bore the distinction of being the oldest lady in southern Illinois, was the mother of nine

children. Only three of her children are living, namely, W. C. Pearce, J. J. Pearce and Mrs. Mary E. Campbell. She was the head of five generations, since she was called great-great-grandmother by eight children, great-grandmother by thirty children and grandmother by twenty-eight children.

Hundreds of mourning relatives and friends attended the funeral in respect to this aged lady, who was doubtless the oldest lady in this section of the State. She lived a devoted Christian life and had been a member of the Primitive Baptist church for over fifty years.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *Bibliography of Newspapers Published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., professor in the University of Chicago, assisted by Milo J. Loveless, graduate student in the University of Chicago. 94 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information Relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois, passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D. 15 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., professor in the University of Chicago. 170 pages, 8 vo. Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D., secretary of the society. 55 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetic Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects Compiled under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Library, by the librarian, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1900.

Nos. 6-15 inc. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the years 1901-1910 inclusive. 10 volumes. Numbers 6 to 12 inclusive are out of print.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 1. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library. 642 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 2. Virginia series, Vol. I. Edited by Clarence W. Alvord. CLVI and 663 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, Ill., 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections. Vol. 3. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Lincoln Series, Vol. 1. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D., 627 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, Ill., 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 4. Executive Series, Vol. 1. The Governor's Letter-Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. XXXII and 317 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, Ill., 1909.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 5. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. L and 681 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, Ill., 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series. Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. CIV and 610 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections. Vol. VII. Executive Series. Vol. II. Governor's Letter-Books. 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. CXVIII and 469 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1911.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James, Northwestern University. CLXVII and 715 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1912.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. I, No. 1. Sept., 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord, University of Illinois. 38 pages. 8 vo., Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. I, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois. 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois. 34 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. I, No. 1. Nov., 1905. An outline for the study of Illinois State History. Compiled under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, by Jessie Palmer Weber, Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library and Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society. assisted by Georgia L. Osborne, Assistant Librarian. 94 pages, 8 vo. Springfield, 1905.

Journals of the Illinois State Historical Society, Quarterly, Vol. I. No. 1, April, 1908, to Vol. VI, No. 2, July, 1913.

JOURNALS OUT OF PRINT.

*Vol. I, out of print. Vol. II, Nos. 2, 3 and 4, out of print. Vol. III, out of print. Vol. IV, out of print.

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*Out of print.

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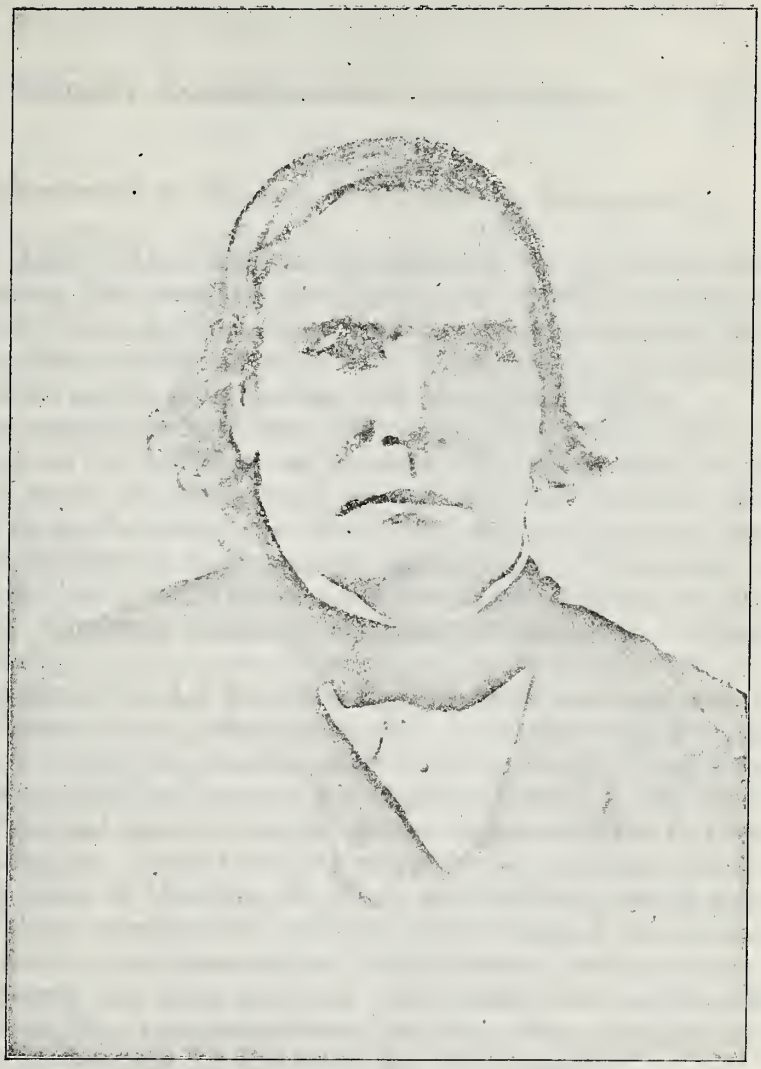


JESSE B. THOMAS

Speaker of the Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1818.

The Illinois Constitutional Convention of 1818

Introduction by Richard V. Carpenter, Belvidere, Ill.

On April 18th, 1818, the Congress of the United States passed an Act enabling the inhabitants of the territory of Illinois to form a Constitution and state government and providing that said State, when formed, should be admitted to the Union on the same footing with the original states.

The boundaries of the new State were to be as described by the Act, on the Southern and Eastern ends, where most of the people were, the Mississippi on one side and the Ohio and Wabash on the other. On the North, for the reasons often stated, Nathaniel Pope secured the consent of Congress to move the line North from the original location of the latitude of the Southerly extreme of Lake Michigan to latitude 42° 30′.

This Enabling Act provided that all white male citizens of the United States, twenty-one and over, who had resided in the Territory six months prior to the election, or who were otherwise qualified to vote for representatives in the territorial general assembly, might choose representatives to form a convention. Each County was given two members, except the counties of Madison, St. Clair and Gallatin, which were given three members, on account of their larger population. According to the enumeration White County had but seventeen people less than Gallatin, and should also apparently have had two representatives, but this was probably not known at the time the Enabling Act was passed.

The election was held on the first Monday of July, 1818, and the two following days, and the members elected were authorized to meet at Kaskaskia, the seat of government of the territory, on the first Monday of August and to determine by a majority of the whole number elected:

First: Whether or not it was expedient at that time to form a Constitution and state government;

Second: If expedient, then to form such Constitution and government;

Third: If more expedient, then to provide for electing representatives to form a Constitution or frame of government.

We have been unable to find any details as to the election of the representatives in the various counties. Governor Reynolds tells us that no question was agitated in the election, except in some counties the question of slavery; that there existed not the slightest spark of party politics as to measures, but, nevertheless, two parties did exist, founded on the qualification of the men for office and the "ins and outs" of power and place. He states that men like Edwards, Pope, Cook, General White, Judge Browne, and others, formed one party; and Messrs. Bond, Thomas, Michael Jones, Kane, McLean and others, were leaders of the other party.

Accordingly then, under this authority from the national law-making body at Washington, there might have been seen during the warm days of late July and early August, 1818, by Indian trail and forest road, over flower-strewn prairies and through green woods in their full summer growth, thirty-three men, the representatives of our pioneer forefathers, making their way towards the old French town of Kaskaskia, on the Mississippi, the constitution makers of a future great and glorious State.

By Monday, August 3rd, the day specified, all but four had reached the capital. Kaskaskia, the scene and center of so much that is important or romantic in our early history, was built on a level and rather low stretch between the Kaskaskia and the Mississippi rivers. On the one side, some miles away, the yellow Father of Waters rolled his flood to the Gulf. On the other side, across the Kaskaskia, rose the bluffs, on the edge of which stood Pierre Menard's mansion, surrounded by its pecan grove and overlooked by the earthworks sometimes known as Fort Gage.

There appears to be no record to show in what building

the Convention met. Wherever it was, whether in territorial capital-house, tavern or private residence, the site where these early law-makers performed their work is now beneath the waters of the Mississippi. But little has been written concerning the proceedings of this first Constitutional Convention of our State. Those to whom we look for contemporary accounts of this early time, such as Ford, Reynolds, and Breese, make little reference to it. While it is evident from a statement in Ford's History that he had access to the journal of the Convention, there was in later times, until the last few years, no copy known to be in existence, but on March 16th, 1905, the State of Illinois, through the generosity of Mr. J. W. Kitchell of Pana, became the possessor of what is apparently the only copy that remains. His letter transmitting it to the Secretary of State, is given at the end of this article. In view of the fact that so little is known of the proceedings, it has been thought well to reproduce verbatim, this copy of the journal. Spelling and pagination have been exactly followed. In connection therewith, the writer will attempt to bring together some of the few known facts concerning the Convention and the men who composed it, and also, in view of the somewhat formal nature of the document, will endeavor to set forth in a more condensed form, the principal transactions from day to day.

From the official maps in the "Blue Book" showing the growth of the various counties of the State, we are able to form a good idea of the divisions of the territory at the time of the convention. A copy of the appropriate map is given herewith, and on it has been marked the approximate locations from whence the members came. As we are unable to find where some of them lived, the marks representing the members have not been more definitely placed than inside the lines of their proper County.

The convention, in calling the roll the first day, seems to have started at Bond County, which ran up the center of the State like the clock hands at noon and then followed in a direction opposite the hands of the clock, ending at Crawford. Taking the counties up in this order, let us note briefly their

characteristics and some of the men who represented them.

Bond County, as has been said, was long and narrow, running north to the Wisconsin line; the settlements in 1818 were apparently all in the Southern part, mostly in the present Bond County, with a few in Christian, Montgomery, Clinton, and the eastern part of the present Sangamon. The delegates were Thomas Kirkpatrick and Samuel G. Morse.

Thomas Kirkpatrick was an early settler of Greenville, Bond County, Illinois, and lived about one and a half miles southeast of Greenville. He was among the first justices of the County Commissioners' Court, 1818, of Bond County, and was appointed by Governor Ninian Edwards Judge of the County Court of Bond County. An extract from the record of this Court reads as follows:

"Be it remembered that on the 2d day of June, 1817, at a County Court held for Bond County, began and held at Hill's Station, in pursuance of an Act of the Legislature of the Illinois Territory, passed in the year 1817 (January 4).

"Thomas Kirkpatrick, John Powers, and Martin Jones, produced commissions from his Excellency, Ninian Edwards, Governor of said Territory, appointing them Judges of said County Court, who, having taken the several oaths prescribed by law, and thereupon took their seats."

The first County Court was held at Perryville, July 20th, 1818, and was called a Justice's Court, three Justices of the County acting, viz: Thomas Kirkpatrick, Martin Jones, and Isaac Price.

Thomas Kirkpatrick was the first lieutenant in the Edwardsville company of militia, in September of 1814. He built several water mills on Cahokia Creek, near the present city of Edwardsville, and some time prior to 1814, he built a fort near that creek, at which Judge Reynolds remembers attending court when it was used as a court house. Apparently he moved far enough east to be in Bond County in 1818.

Thomas Kirkpatrick's house was the seat of justice for Madison County, as laid off in 1812, when it included the northern two-thirds of the State.

Samuel G. Morse was an early settler of Bond County, Illinois. He was the first Sheriff of the county, serving in 1817 and 1818. He was fond of music and taught singing school occasionally.

Madison County, commencing at the southern limits of the present County of that name, ran north to the Wisconsin line and west to the Mississippi. Next to Crawford it was the greatest in extent. Its population was mostly in the Southern half, extending as far north as Peoria, with probably a few in the Fort Armstrong neighborhood, at Rock Island. The main population was doubtless within the present Madison County. Its members were Prickett, Borough and Stephenson.

Abraham Prickett was born near Lexington, Kentucky, came to Madison County in 1805; was employed for a time in the drug business in St. Louis, then opened a store at Edwardsville, where in 1813, he received from the first County Court of Madison County, a license to retail merchandise. In 1818 he was elected a Representative in the first General Assembly; was also postmaster of the Town of Edwardsville for a number of years. In 1825 he removed to Adams County, and laid out an addition to the City of Quincy; was also engaged there in trade with the Indians. In 1836, while engaged on a Government contract for the removal of snags and other obstructions to the navigation of Red River, he died at Natchitoches, Louisiana.

Joseph Borough had been a private from St. Clair County in the War of 1812 and in 1813 was made first lieutenant of Rangers. He was Representative from Madison in the Second General Assembly, 1818-20; Senator for Macoupin in the Tenth and Eleventh General Assemblies.

Benjamin Stephenson, pioneer and early politician, came to Illinois from Kentucky in 1809, and was appointed the first sheriff of Randolph County by Governor Edwards under the Territorial Government. Afterwards served as Colonel of Illinois Militia during the War of 1812; represented Illinois Territory as Delegate in Congress 1814-1816; resigned April 29th, 1816, on being appointed Receiver of Public Moneys at

the Land Office in Edwardsville. Nathaniel Pope succeeded him in Congress. Colonel Stephenson died in Edwardsville.

On the sixth of August, 1819, at Edwardsville, a treaty was negotiated between Auguste Chouteau and Benjamin Stephenson, Commissioners on the part of the United States, and the Chiefs of the Kickapoo Tribe of Indians, by which the Kickapoos ceded all their land on the northwest side of the Wabash River, including their principal village and a tract of land covering the central part of the State of Illinois, estimated to contain upward of ten millions of acres, etc.

St. Clair County included considerable territory which had been settled by the French at an early date and the old Village of Cahokia, as well as the newer Belleville. Its members were Judge Thomas, who was the Chairman of the Convention; Rev. James Lemen, the friend of Thomas Jefferson, and John Messinger, a prominent surveyor. For its size, St. Clair was the most thickly populated of the counties in 1818, being only exceeded in number by Madison County, which had many times its area.

It will be noted that there are no distinctively French names among the members of the Convention, although the genial Pierre Menard was given a high office in the new State Government. The old French localities had been filled with American pioneers, as described by Reynolds, mostly from the south, and some from New England and its westward extensions.

Jesse Burgess Thomas; was born at Hagerstown, Maryland, claiming direct descent from Lord Baltimore. Taken west in childhood, (1779) he grew to manhood and settled at Lawrenceburg, Indiana Territory, in 1803 as an attorney; in 1805 was speaker of the Indiana Territorial Legislature, and later, represented the Territory as delegate in Congress. On the organization of Illinois Territory (which he had favored), he removed to Kaskaskia, and was appointed one of the first judges for the new Territory. On the admission of the State, he became one of the first United States senators, Governor Edwards being his colleague. Though an avowed advocate of slavery, he gained no little prominence as the author of

the celebrated "Missouri Compromise," adopted in 1820. He was re-elected to the Senate in 1823, serving until 1829; he subsequently removed to Mount Vernon, Ohio, where he died May 4th, 1853, leaving a large estate. He left no children. He and Kane were doubtless the two most prominent members of the Convention. An account of his life, written by Dr. J. F. Snyder, appears in the Society's Transactions of 1904.

Rev. James Lemen, Jr., born in Monroe County, Illinois, October 8th, 1787; early united with the Baptist Church and became a minister. He served as senator in the Second, Fourth and Fifth General Assemblies. Also preached extensively in Illinois, Missouri and Kentucky, and assisted in the organization of many churches. He was the second child of American parents born in Illinois, Enoch Moore being the first. He died February 8th, 1870. In the Society's Transactions of 1908, may be found a detailed account of the important services of his father, Rev. James Lemen, Sr., in the anti-slavery cause and his agreement or "pact" with Thomas Jefferson.

John Messinger, pioneer surveyor and cartographer, was born at West Stockbridge, Mass., in 1771, grew up on a farm, but secured a good education, especially in mathematics. Going to Vermont in 1783, he learned the trade of a carpenter and mill-wright; removed to Kentucky in 1799, and in 1802 to Illinois, (then a part of Indiana Territory), locating first in the American bottom and later, at New Design, within the present limits of Monroe County. Two years later he became the proprietor of a mill, and between 1804 and 1806, taught one of the earliest schools in St. Clair County. The latter year he took up the vocation of a surveyor, which he followed for many years as a sub-contractor under William Rector, surveying much of the land in St. Clair and Randolph counties, and still later assisting in determining the northern boundary of the State. He also served for a time as a teacher of mathematics in Rock Spring Seminary; in 1821 he published a hand-book on surveying. He also prepared some of the earlier State and County maps. In 1808 he was elected to the Indiana Territorial Legislature to fill a vacancy, and took part

in the steps which resulted in settling up a separate territorial government for Illinois the following year. He also received an appointment as first surveyor of St. Clair County under the new Territorial government. As delegate from St. Clair County to the Convention of 1818, Reynolds says he was a cautious and prudent member, always wise without rashness. He was elected a representative in the First General Assembly, serving as speaker. After leaving New Design, the later years of his life were spent on Clinton Hill, a farm a few miles northeast of Belleville, where he died in 1846.

Washington County lay to the west of St. Clair and took in the present Washington and part of what is now Clinton.

Andrew Bankson, a native of Tennessee, settled on Silver Creek, in St. Clair County, Illinois, four miles south of Lebanon, Illinois, about 1808 or 1810, and subsequently removed to Washington County. He was a colonel of "Rangers" during the War of 1812, and a captain in the Black Hawk War of 1832. In 1822 he was elected to the State Senate from Washington County, serving four years, and at the session of 1822-23 was one of those who voted against the celebrated convention resolution which had for its object to make Illinois a slave State. He subsequently removed to Iowa Territory, west of Dubuque, and died in 1853, while visiting a son-in-law in Wisconsin.

John K. Mangham, Bankson's colleague, died shortly after he reached Kaskaskia. We have been unable, thus far, to find any information as to his life and labors. The secretary of the State Historical Society will be glad to receive any information about Mr. Mangham or his descendants.

Monroe County also lay near the Mississippi River, and took in considerable of the region settled by the French. Its members were Cairns and Moore.

Caldwell Cairns. Just north of the present town of Harrisonville, lived Dr. Caldwell Cairns, who was well known all over the country in early times as an excellent physician. He came to Illinois from Pennsylvania soon after the year 1800. He bought a fine farm under cultivation, which he called Walnut Grove. He was fond of agriculture, and farmed, for

those days, on a large scale. He attended likewise to his profession, and had a large practice among the residents of the bottoms.

He was elected a justice of the peace, and also one of the judges of the St. Clair County Court (before Monroe County was organized). He was sent as one of the delegates from Monroe County to the convention which framed the first constitution of the State of Illinois. He was one of the active working members of that body. He was a man of sound mind, and was honest in his transactions with the public, and upright in his deportment. He died on his farm, leaving behind him a good reputation, and a large estate. One of his daughters married General James Semple, who was at one time one of the Supreme judges of Illinois, United States senator, and minister to Bogota.

Enoch Moore, son of Captain James Moore, was born in the old block-house at Bellefontaine in 1782, being the first child born of American parents in Illinois. Served as a "ranger", and was captain in the War of 1812; was clerk of the Circuit Court, and afterwards judge of Probate of Monroe County, during the territorial period; served as representative from Monroe County in the Second General Assembly, later filling various County offices for some twenty years. He died in 1848.

Randolph County was the seat of old Kaskaskia itself and therefore the host—as it were—of the convention. Around no part of the Territory does more of the romance and interest of the early day cluster. One of its members, Kane, was the leading spirit on the floor of the convention, and was one of the ablest men of the new State.

Elias Kent Kane was born in New York about 1794. He was educated at Yale College, graduated in 1812; read law in New York, and emigrated to Tennessee in 1813 or early in 1814, but, before the close of the latter year, removed to Illinois, settling at Kaskaskia, where he commenced the practice of law. Was appointed, early in 1818, as judge of the Eastern Circuit under the Territorial Government. Was appointed by Governor Bond, the first secretary of state under the State

Government, but resigned on the accession of Governor Coles in 1822. Two years later he was elected to the General Assembly as representative from Randolph County, but resigned to take his seat in the United States Senate, to which he was elected in 1824, and re-elected in 1830. Before the expiration of his second term (December 12, 1835), having reached the age of a little more than forty years, he died in Washington. He was a cousin of Chancellor Kent of New York, through his mother's family, while on his father's side he was a relative of the Arctic explorer, Elisha Kent Kane. An article on Kane will be found in the Society's Transactions of 1908.

Dr. George Fisher was a native of Hardy County, Virginia, from which State he came to Kaskaskia in 1798. He became very prominent during the Territorial period; was appointed by William Henry Harrison, then governor of Indiana Territory, the first sheriff of Randolph County, after its organization in 1801; was elected from that County to the Indiana Territorial House of Representatives in 1805, and afterwards promoted to the Territorial Council, was also representative in the First and Third Legislatures of Illinois Territory (1812 and 1816), serving as speaker of each. He died on his farm near Kaskaskia in 1820. Dr. Fisher participated in the organization of the first lodge of Free and Accepted Masons in Illinois, at Kaskaskia, in 1806.

He was the most eminent physician in the new State in the early days. Governor Reynolds was one of his patients and describes the manner in which he, as a boy, brought home some of the doctor's medicine. He resided on a farm five miles north of Kaskaskia, at a point on the bluffs. He was but fairly well educated, but he was possessed of considerable original talent and great firmness.

Jackson County was settled quite early. The salt industry was of considerable importance. Its former capital, Brownsville, is now little but a memory, Murphysboro having taken its place. This region since the Civil Was, is closely connected in the heart of the people with the memory of that gallant soldier, John A. Logan. The two delegates, Dr. Will

and Judge Hall, were, for some reason, a day late in reaching the convention. Human nature seems to have run the same then as now, the four tardy members being from the two counties adjoining that in which Kaskaskia was located, while the members from along the Wabash were there on time. As Mr. Mangham from Washington County, died a few days after he arrived at Kaskaskia, it is of course possible that he was taken sick on the way, and that his colleague, Mr. Bankson, tarried to assist him.

Conrad Will was born in Philadelphia, June 3rd, 1779; about 1804 removed to Somerset County, Pennsylvania, and in 1812 to Kaskaskia, Illinois. He was a physician by profession, but having leased the saline lands on the Big Muddy in the vicinity of what afterwards became Brownsville, he engaged in the manufacture of salt, removing thither in 1815. On the organization of Jackson County in 1816, he became a member of the first Board of County Commissioners. Thereafter he served continuously as a member of the Legislature from 1818 to 1834, first as senator in the First General Assembly, then as representative in the Second, Third, Fourth and Fifth, and again as senator in the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth and Ninth, his career being conspicuous for a long service. He died in office June 11th, 1834. Dr. Will was short of stature, fleshy and of jovial disposition and fond of playing practical jokes upon his associates, but very popular. Will County, organized by Act of the Legislature two years after his death, was named in his honor. An article on Dr. Will, written by Dr. J. F. Snyder, is found in the Society's Transactions of 1905.

James Hall was born in Philadelphia, August 19th, 1793; after serving in the War of 1812 and spending some time with Commodore Stephen Decatur in the Mediterranean, in 1815, he studied law, beginning practice at Shawneetown, in 1820. Appointed state's attorney in 1821, and elected to the bench of the Circuit Court in 1825. He was legislated out of office two years later and resumed private practice, making his home at Vandalia, where he was associated with Robert Blackwell in the publication of "The Illinois Intelligencer." The same

year (1827) he was elected by the Legislature state treasurer, continuing four years. Later he removed to Cincinnati, where he died, July 5th, 1868. He conducted "The Illinois Monthly Magazine," later "The Western Monthly Magazine," the first periodical published in Illinois. Among his published volumes are "Tales of the Border," "Notes on the Western States," "Sketches of the West," "Romance of Western History," and "History of the Indian Tribes."

Johnson County was the smallest in population at this time and ran south to the Ohio River, including the site of the present City of Metropolis, and old Fort Massac. The delegates were William McFatridge and Hezekiah West.

William McFatridge, one of the members, was in the General Assembly which fought out the convention resolution and took a prominent, but apparently not very consistent, part in that strenuous campaign.

In Washburne's "Sketch of Edward Coles" we find the following note concerning him:

"Mr. McFatridge was, I judge, of Scotch-Irish origin; a man about sixty years of age, of kind heart and generous disposition. He had fallen into the very general evil of the time, and drank more liquor than his legislative duties actually required. Late in an afternoon session a member moved an adjournment; Mr. McFatridge, in his chair, opposed it. It was carried by a large vote, and the speaker declared the House adjourned. McFatridge, raising his voice above the noise occasioned by the general movement, exclaimed: "Mr. Speaker, Mr. Speaker; you may adjourn the House, and be hanged, but old Billy McFatridge will remain in session until sundown, and look after the interests of his constituents, while you are cavorting at Copp's grocery and getting drunk on the hard earnings of the people."

No information about Hezeziah West can be found. Any information about him will be gladly received by the Society.

Union County had the same limits as at present, but had attached to it the territory running as far south as Cairo, thus making it include most of the southernmost end of the State; of its two members, Echols and Whiteaker, we find no

notes. The latter's name is in some lists spelled *Wittaker.*

John Whiteaker, Union County. In the History of Alexander, Union and Pulaski Counties, edited by William Henry Perrin, published by O. L. Baskin & Company, Chicago, 1883, we find a few references to John Whiteaker. They are as follows:

John Whiteaker; early settler of Union County. Arrived in 1814.

Among those who entered the land that lies within the County up to and including the year 1818 the name of John Whiteaker appears.

Member of the grand jury first term of Court of Union County, 1818.

Member from Union County to the Constitutional Convention, 1818.

John Whiteaker, Union County Member House of Representatives, General Assembly State of Illinois, 1824-26.

We find no information in regard to William Echols, but will be glad to receive such from any one who knows anything of him.

With Pope County, we reach the series of counties on the east side of the State. Pope and Gallatin were on the Ohio and much of the immigration from the south and east crossed the river into them from Kentucky, some remaining and some going on across the State to the counties bordering on the Mississippi. The two members were Omelveny and Ferguson.

Samuel Omelveny followed the occupation of flat-boating, carrying produce to New Orleans. He was in Pope County in 1816 and thereafter. In 1819 he removed to Randolph County, where he served as a member of the County Court, but in 1820-22, we find him a member of the Second General Assembly from Union County. He was a native of Ireland, and a popular pioneer all through southern Illinois. Before coming to Illinois, he resided for a time in Kentucky. Reynolds says that he was blessed with a very strong mind, but not much book education; that his person was large and he had no parlor polish in his manners, his mind corresponding

with his exterior, strong and natural. He was the first County Treasurer of Pope County in 1816. Died in 1828.

Hamlet Ferguson resided near Golconda. Reynolds says that he was a respectable citizen, filling many offices and that "he acted well his part; there all the honor lies." He was captain and afterwards major in the militia and was the first sheriff of Pope County, on its organization in 1816.

Franklin County. This was in the interior of the then settled portion of the State and included the present Franklin and also Williamson. Its members were Harrison and Roberts.

Thomas Roberts was an early settler of Frankfort Township and entered land in 1814; held several military offices before and during the War of 1812, being a captain in the first regiment. In this regiment were three of the members of the convention—Roberts, Jones and Ferguson. He was apparently senator from Johnson County in the First General Assembly, 1818-20.

Isham Harrison, Franklin County. Representative to the Constitutional Convention, 1818. In the list of vice-presidents of the Old Settlers Association of Franklin County in 1886 appears the name of Isham Harrison. This was probably a descendant of the Isham Harrison who was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1818. I find no other information in regard to Isham Harrison in the County history.

Information about Isham Harrison or his descendants will be gladly received by the Society.

Gallatin County was the seat of Shawneetown, where so much occurred in the early day, and lay on the Ohio and southern part of the Wabash. Much of the traffic from the eastern and southern states crossed at the ferry at Shawneetown. Its three members were Jones, White and Hubbard.

Michael Jones was a Pennsylvanian by birth, who came to Kaskaskia in 1804, as register of the land office at Kaskaskia; he afterwards removed to Shawneetown. He was senator in the first four General Assemblies and also representative in the Eighth. He was a candidate for United States senator in 1819, but was defeated by Governor Edwards; was a presi-

dential elector in 1820. He supported the pro-slavery constitution and was a bitter opponent of Governor Edwards. Reynolds says he was a sprightly man of plausible and pleasing personality, that he possessed a good English education and was, in his younger days, well qualified for business if he had been clear of excitement; his temperament was very excitable and rather irritable; his mind was above the ordinary range, but his passion at times swept over him like a tornado.

As we have quoted largely from Reynolds and other early writers, it might be well to add that, as all students of Illinois history know, the statements of Governor Reynolds and Governor Ford, and some of the others to whom we must look for first-hand information, although very interesting and generally accurate as to fact, are apt to be influenced, when dealing with the characteristics and motives of men, by the viewpoint of the writer. It is therefore not entirely just to judge the public men of our early day simply by what Reynolds or Ford or some one writer had to say of them, as has too often been done by writers on our early history.

General Leonard White was prominently connected with the salt industry in the early days and for a time was government agent for the Salines. In 1811 he was colonel in the Illinois Militia. At least three members were connected with the salt industry, General White, Dr. Will and General Hargrave.

General White was senator from White County in the Second General Assembly, 1820-22, secretary of the senate in 1834-36. White County was named in his honor.

I find that a *Timothy Guard* was also connected with that industry and he was probably a relative of Seth Guard or Gard, who was in the convention. Much can be found relative to White in an article on the Salines by Prof. Geo. W. Smith in the Transactions of 1904. Several letters referring to Messrs. White, Hargrave, and Kitchell, also appear in the Governors' Letter Books 1818 to 1834, published by the Historical Library.

Adolphus F. Hubbard was lieutenant governor from 1822 to 1826, being chosen at the hotly contested election at which

Edward Coles was elected governor. He represented Gallatin County in the General Assembly from 1818 to 1820 and held several other offices. Was candidate for governor in 1826, receiving, however, a comparatively few votes, Edwards and Sloo being his opponents. See Ill. State Hist. Soc. Transactions No. 8, 1903, p. 102.

White County was of considerable extent and ran from the third principal meridian east to the Wabash. It was well populated and its members were Hargrave and McHenry.

Willis Hargrave came from Kentucky to Illinois in 1816, settling near Carmi in White County. On December 6th, 1823, the "Friends of a Convention," from all parts of the State, held a meeting at Vandalia, for the purpose of instituting a more perfect organization, of which General Hargrave was the chairman. He was a member of the House of Representatives from White County, in the Territorial Legislature, in the sessions of 1817-18, and a member of the first Senate of the State in 1818-22. Washburne states that he was one of the boldest and most outspoken advocates for a convention in the State; that while others temporized and hesitated, he openly advocated making Illinois a slave State. He was captain in the War of 1812 and was official inspector of the Gallatin Saline.

William McHenry came from Kentucky to Illinois in 1809, locating in White County, and afterwards became prominent as a legislator and captain in the War of 1812, and in the Black Hawk War of 1832, serving in the latter as major of the "Spy Battalion" and participating in the Battle of Bad Axe. He also served as representative in the First, Fourth, Fifth and Ninth General Assemblies and as senator in the Sixth and Seventh. While serving in the House, he died in 1835, and was buried at Vandalia, then the State capital. McHenry County, in the northern part of the State, was named in his honor.

Edwards County was also large in extent, running from the third principal meridian to the Wabash. It lay well to the north of the then settled region, having only the settlers in the southeastern corner of Crawford between it and the

Indian country. In the eastern portion around Albion, Morris Birkbeck had recently settled with his English friends, and this County was to become, later, one of the strongholds against slavery, although at the time of the convention of 1818, Birkbeck's influence had hardly had time to spread very widely. Most of the population was along and near the Wabash. The two members were Gard and Compton. Gard was a justice of the peace of Edwards County as early as 1815. He represented Edwards in the first session of the Third Territorial Legislature, 1816.

Seth Gard. Judge of the First County Court of Edwards County. (Edwards County History, page 82).

On the organization of the County in 1814, the act provided for a special election to be held at the seat of justice in March, 1815, for the purpose of electing a representative for the County to the Territorial Legislature. Whereupon Seth Gard was duly elected, which position he held until the admission of the State into the Union in 1818.

The town of Palmyra, Edwards County, Illinois, was created the 22d of April, 1815, by the joint act of Seth Gard, Peter Keen, Gervase Hazleton, Levi Compton, and John Waggoner, which association was known as Seth Gard & Company. The town was situated at a sluggish bend on the river within the confines of two fractional lots, numbered four and five in township one south of the base line, in range twelve west of the second meridian. For some reasons the proprietors of the Town withheld the deed of donation to the County until the 7th of May, 1816.

Levi Compton, Edwards County. (History of Edwards, Lawrence and Wabash Counties, Illinois, J. L. McDonough & Co., publishers, Philadelphia, 1883.) Levi Compton was the son of John and Elizabeth Compton, born February 1st, 1766, in Fairfax County, Virginia. He was the grandson of John Compton, born in Charles County, Maryland, and Mary, his wife, born in England. Levi Compton married Rosanna, daughter of Stephen and Nancy Therwesse, who was born in St. Mary's County, Maryland, February 15th, 1770. Levi Compton was undoubtedly the first permanent settler of what

is now known as Wabash County. He moved from Virginia to Kentucky in 1792 and remained there until 1801, when he came to the Northwestern Territory. He brought with him from Kentucky a slave, named Dennis Sales. He was a large slave owner in Kentucky, but like a great many more men in his day who were of broad and liberal minds, disliked slavery. He set them free before leaving Kentucky—all but old Dennis, and gave him his freedom soon after coming to Illinois.

Levi Compton settled on the Wabash, on a tract known as "Compton's Grant." In 1804 he moved to a point about sixty rods from the northern boundary of Allendale in Wabash precinct, and there he and his neighbors built a fort, which was known as "Compton Fort." It was one-fourth of a mile from Jourdan's block-house. Both were built as a protection against the Indians, who then roamed at will through Illinois. In 1816 he settled in what was still known as "Compton's Prairie" as late as 1843. He was county treasurer of Edwards County 1815-1819. He was a conspicuous man in the pioneer days of Illinois. (Edwards County History, page 97.)

Crawford County.

We come now to the last, but in extent, the largest of the Counties, Crawford. Its boundaries show the sparseness of the early settlement in the northern part of the State; it extended from the third principal meridian to the Indiana line and Lake Michigan, and from about two-thirds down the State it ran north to the Wisconsin line. Within its limits, beside many others of our important and wealthy counties, lay what is now Cook County, Chicago being then but a few houses clustered around the site of Fort Dearborn. The population was almost entirely in the southeastern corner. The members were Kitchell and Cullom.

Edward N. Cullom, prominent and early settler of Crawford County, came from Wayne County, Kentucky, making the trip in wagons, the principal mode of transportation at that time. Landed at Palestine or rather Fort LaMotte November 25th, 1814. Mr. Cullom was a man of prominence in the County and served in a number of responsible positions.

Was a large land owner; the first crop of corn that he raised he loaded in flat-boat and took to New Orleans. It was the first boat that ever went out of the Wabash River from the Illinois side. He paid $150.00 for the boat, and at New Orleans sold it and the cargo for $1,300 in money; then made his way home overland through the "Indian Nation" as it was then known. His money was in two $500.00 "post notes," as they were called, or bank drafts, and the remainder in specie. That was an enormous sum of money for those days, and Cullom was considered a very rich man. He laid it out mostly in lands, and became one of the largest land owners in southern Illinois. In later years, however, he lost the large part of it by going the security of others and died a comparatively poor man.

The following were the sons of Mr. Cullom: Francis, William, Leonard D., Edward N., Thomas F., and George W.

The first term of the County Court of Crawford County was held at the house of Edward N. Cullom near the present town of Palestine on February 26th, 1817.

The first term of Court was held by Edward N. Cullom and John Dunlap, justices of the peace.

The second term of County Court, Crawford County was held by Edward N. Cullom, John Dunlap and Isaac Moore, 23rd and 24th of June, 1817.

The land on which the town of Palestine was laid out was owned by Edward N. Cullom and Joseph Kitchell.

The first county commissioners of Crawford County were: Wickliffe Kitchell, Edward N. Cullom and William Barbee.

The first Circuit Court held for Crawford County convened on Monday, September 15th, 1817, at the house of Edward N. Cullom.

The first county commissioners, or as they were then called, county justices of the peace, were elected or appointed February 26th, 1817, and were E. N. Cullom, John Dunlap and Isaac Moore. The next year, 1818, this board was increased to twelve members and Edward N. Cullom was one of the number. In 1819 it dropped back to three commissioners as

follows: Edward N. Cullom, Wickliff Kitchell and William Barbee. (Page 49, Crawford County History.)

In 1821 Aaron Ball, David Stewart and Edward N. Cullom were county commissioners.

In the constitutional convention held at Kaskaskia in July, 1818, Crawford County was represented by Joseph Kitchell and Edward N. Cullom.

Joseph Kitchell came from a family well known in Crawford County and lived near Palestine; his brother Wickliff Kitchell, was attorney-general of the State. Joseph Kitchell's wife was the daughter of a Revolutionary officer under Washington. Considerable about the Kitchell family is found in an article on Palestine in the Transactions of 1905. Joseph Kitchell was first state senator from Crawford County, and also a senator in the Second General Assembly, 1820-22. It being through the courtesy of a nephew of Mr. Kitchell that the State possesses its copy of the Journal, and it is to be hoped that a separate article can be written by some one conversant with all the facts as to this early statesman from Crawford County, along the lines of that most excellent series by Dr. Snyder.

We have found in our search, that the members divided themselves into two different and distinct classes. Some, such as Thomas, Kane, and others, appear very often in the history and we have merely noted a few of the most prominent facts concerning them. Others were doubtless brave, energetic and able pioneers, selected by their neighbors to represent them at this time, coming up to Kaskaskia and doing their duty in launching the new commonwealth, and then going back to their farms or other occupations to take their part in building up the State government they planned, but leaving little written record of their useful lives. As to these, the small amount of information that is given, has cost more search then the larger amount for the better-known members. It is to be hoped, however, that through the researches of local historians in the various counties from which they came, we can—at least by 1918—be in possession of a reasonably complete biography of each member of this convention. It

may be proper here to state that much of the information as to some of the members, has been taken from the Historical Encyclopedia of Illinois, compiled by Bateman and Selby.

From a study of the same original sources from which, doubtless, the articles in that work were compiled, we could find little additional information as to those members and therefore used it substantially in the form therein contained.

Let us now briefly take up the proceedings of the convention, as shown by its Journal.

Upon the roll-call the first day, all but four of the members were present. Jesse B. Thomas, one of the most prominent and able of the delegates, was chosen president pro tem., T. V. W. Varick, secretary pro tem. and Ezra Owen, door-keeper. Afterwards Mr. Thomas was elected the permanent president, William C. Greenup, secretary, and Ezra Owen, sergeant-at-arms.

William C. Greenup of Randolph County, the clerk of the convention, had been clerk of the first Territorial House of Representatives, which convened at Kaskaskia in 1812. He was lieutenant and captain in the War of 1812; secretary of Senate, First General Assembly, 1818-20.

Ezra Owen, the sergeant-at-arms, had been quarter-master in the War of 1812. He must have been a good legislative door-keeper, as he served in that capacity in the council of the Third Territorial Legislature, 1816-18, and in the Senate 1818-1822.

Mr. Thomas, on his election, made a short and dignified address, which is the only one reported verbatim in the Journal. It is apparent from the rules adopted, that it was thought possible that some stenographer might be present and take down the debates. What interesting reading such an account of the transactions would now present, if preserved to us, even through the imperfect system of shorthand of those days! A committee of three on credentials and a committee on rules were appointed, also a committee to request some minister to open the next meeting with prayer.

On Tuesday, the second day of the convention, at 9 A. M., the convention met and was opened with prayer by Rev. Mr.

Mitchell. The two representatives from Jackson County and the two from Washington County took their seats. A committee was then appointed with Elias K. Kane at the head, to examine the returns in the office of the territorial secretary and report if the same showed a population of 40,000, and as if fearful that some deficiency in number might still remain, the motion provided that the committee "receive and report such other evidence of the actual population of the Territory as to them shall seem proper." The convention found the whole number of inhabitants to be 40,258, and it was therefore resolved that it was expedient to form a constitution and state government.

I find no authority for the hints sometimes thrown out that the returns were somewhat "padded." Even the Congress at Washington, in discussing the question, seemed to be slightly skeptical as to the number. At any rate, the State certainly has enough now, and perhaps it was just as well at that struggling period that the honorable members were not required to swear that all the inhabitants were *human* and that the number reported included no canine or ophidian inhabitants.

For some reason Mr. Kane desired to postpone the consideration of this resolution until the next day, but the convention decided otherwise. In the meantime the committee on credentials had reported that the sitting members were entitled to their seats. It was then decided to appoint a committee of fifteen, one from each County, to frame and report a constitution, which was done.

At nine o'clock Thursday, the convention met again and the committee on rules reported and the draft submitted by said committee was adopted. Measures were taken for printing copies of the rules, the proposed constitution and the journal of the proceedings.

The public printers, Robert Blackwell and Elijah C. Berry, were two men of considerable importance in the new State. They had been associated in the publication of the "Herald" at Kaskaskia and had done the public printing; the name of the paper was afterwards changed to the "Western Intelli-

gencer'' and then to the ''Illinois Intelligencer,'' which was its name during the convention. Daniel P. Cook and James Hall were also at various times connected with the papers. Considerable may be found about these early printers and editors in ''Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois'' published by the Historical Library as Volume 6 of the Historical Collections.

Robert Blackwell, in April, 1817, succeeded Cook in the office of territorial auditor of public accounts, being himself succeeded by Elijah C. Berry. Blackwell located at Vandalia and served as member of the House from Fayette County, in the Eighth and Ninth General Assemblies (1832-36), and in the Senate, 1840-42. Mr. Berry was auditor from August 28th, 1817, in territorial days until 1831. He was also appointed adjutant-general in 1821 and 1828. Newspaper men in those days, as now, stood well with the ''powers that be.''

Two motions to appoint committees to draft the ordinance, were then postponed for consideration the following day. Mr. Kane made these motions and as apparently the work of drafting the constitution fell to his lot, it may have been because he was not ready to present the result of his labors or because as leader of one side of the convention, he thought his followers had not been sufficiently ''lined up'', and some delay was required—just as is often expedient in conventions still.

On Friday, August 7th, the convention met again at nine o'clock. At this time Mr. Kane presented two petitions from sundry inhabitants of Randolph County, concerning certain declarations of a religious nature, which the petitioners desired to have appear in the constitution. Governor Ford states that they were presented by Rev. Wiley and his congregation of the sect called Covenanters. After being referred to a committee, it was finally decided near the close of the convention, that the consideration on the petitions be postponed until March 4, 1819; and Ford states that the Covenanters had in his time never yet recognized the State government and had refused to work the roads, serve on juries and hold offices; that for a long time they refused to

vote, but in the struggle for a pro-slavery constitution in 1824, they voted unanimously on the side of freedom.

On motion of Mr. Kane, the drafting of the ordinance concerning the propositions of the United States was left with the committee appointed to draft the constitution, if they thought expedient to accept such propositions.

On Monday, August 10th, practically nothing was done, probably on account of Mr. Mangham's illness; and on Tuesday, August 11th, Mr. Bankson announced the death of his colleague, early that morning.

As showing the lack of information which has existed concerning the convention, until the presentation of this copy of the Journal to the State, we may note that Mr. Mangham's name was not known heretofore, the "Blue Book" and other publications leaving a blank as to that member from Washington County. After the appointment of the committee to make arrangements for the funeral, the convention adjourned until the following day.

On Wednesday morning the convention met and took up the question of printing the journals and the draft of the constitution. Mr. White, from the committee to frame the constitution, then reported the draft. In general it is the same as was finally adopted, although a number of important changes were made. In most of the places where periods of time, ages, or amounts of salary were mentioned, a blank was left in the draft, to be filled in by the convention later. The committee also reported a draft of an ordinance accepting the propositions of the United States concerning certain matters. It was ordered that thirty-three copies of the draft be printed (one for each member) and the convention adjourned until the following morning.

On Thursday, the 13th, the convention proceeded to read the first part of the constitution, section by section, and made a few changes.

On Friday, the 14th, it was decided that no election should be called to fill the vacancy caused by Mr. Mangham's death, as it could not be done in time to be of any value. On this day and on Saturday, the convention continued to read the

draft, section by section, and make various changes. On Monday the convention proceeded to read the draft a second time, section by section. Up to this time, so far as the journal discloses, there was considerable unanimity and no roll-call.

On Tuesday, August 18th, the sections relating to slavery were taken up and from then on, the divisions in the convention became more apparent, several roll-calls being taken. Professor Harris in his "History of Negro Servitude in Illinois," although he states that he did not have the Journal of the convention before him, has a valuable discussion on the attitude of the members. He divides them into three different classes; those who strongly supported slavery and those strongly against it, and the more numerous class that prevailed, composed of those who wished to compromise. By means of a tabulation showing each member's vote on the various roll-calls, some idea can be had of the sentiment on the various matters. The limits of this article will not permit of a careful analysis of the votes, but the Journal is well worthy of a careful study along those lines. During the last days of the convention three roll-calls were had on the questions of slavery and several on the question of salaries, one group apparently desiring greater economy than others in such matters, although even the most extravagant salaries proposed would be extremely small at the present time.

There were also two roll-calls as to the seat of government and two as to extensions of the right of suffrage, and several concerning the various officers of the new State.

Ford states an interesting fact as to one of the articles of the schedule, to the effect that it was expected that Shadrach Bond would be governor and the convention wished Elijah C. Berry as auditor of public accounts, but thought that Governor Bond might not appoint him and so provided for the appointment of the auditor, among other officials, by the General Assembly. He also states that a special provision was made as to the qualification of the lieutenant-governor, with reference to length of residence in the territory, so that Pierre Menard might be elected to that office.

We find we have reached the limit of space which should be alloted to this article and have only touched a few of the matters which the publication of this Journal should open up as to our early history. We will, therefore, only mention those matters, with the hope that some one more able and conversant with the facts, and with sufficient time for a systematic study, may feel impelled to treat of them.

One of the most important points is a study of the sources of the various provisions of the constitution. Much of it apparently follows the constitution of the United States, as would be expected, and as to that part it is illogical to refer it to any of the other state constitutions, because they in their turn merely copied the federal document. It was also natural that some of the provisions should be taken from the constitutions of Ohio, Kentucky, and Indiana, as those states had gone through the process of constitution making themselves not so very long before, and were more nearly connected with the new State by their respective conditions, than any of the original thirteen states. It was also to be expected that some New York ideas would be incorporated, by reason of the fact that Kane is supposed to have had much to do with the draft of the constitution.

Another question is that of the various sites which were offered for the State Capital. An article describing and showing photographs of these sites at the present day would be most interesting. They included Kaskaskia itself, Covington, Pope's Bluff, Hill's Ferry (or Fredonia) and Vandalia. Another interesting study could be made from a careful tabulation of the votes on roll-call and the motions made; as to which members voted together, not only on slavery, but on the other questions, thus showing the early political cleavage which, as Reynolds says, was not by parties, but by groups of men allied together by reason of friendship or interest.

All of these matters and others, the publication of this one faded volume, the Journal of the Convention, opens up. While, as has been said, much of the journal is too formal to be interesting reading, I believe that it forms a valuable part of our State's history and that its selection by the editor of our

Quarterly for publication in this manner was a wise choice, particularly in view of the approaching celebration of 1918.

It has been with much pleasure that the writer has gone this short distance in the study of a few of the many questions on which this journal throws light.

RICHARD V. CARPENTER.

Belvidere, Ill., October 1st, 1913.

THE GIFT OF THE JOURNAL TO THE STATE OF ILLINLIS.

Pana, Ill., March 16th, 1905.

Hon. James A. Rose, Secretary of State,
Springfield, Ill.

Dear Sir:—I have the honor to present herewith to the State of Illinois through you, the keeper of its archives, a printed copy of the original Journal of the Constitutional Convention, which met at Kaskaskia in the then Territory of Illinois, in the year 1818, elected in pursuance of an act of Congress to prepare and present for adoption by the people of such territory a constitution for the future State of Illinois.

I have learned from you that no copy of such Journal, either written or printed, is to be found in your office and so far as known no other copy is now in existence. The present copy descends to me as a kind of heirloom from my father, the late Wickliff Kitchell, at one time attorney general of the State, and closely connected with the early history of the State, and came to him, no doubt, from his brother, Joseph Kitchell, one of the members of that convention from the County of Crawford.

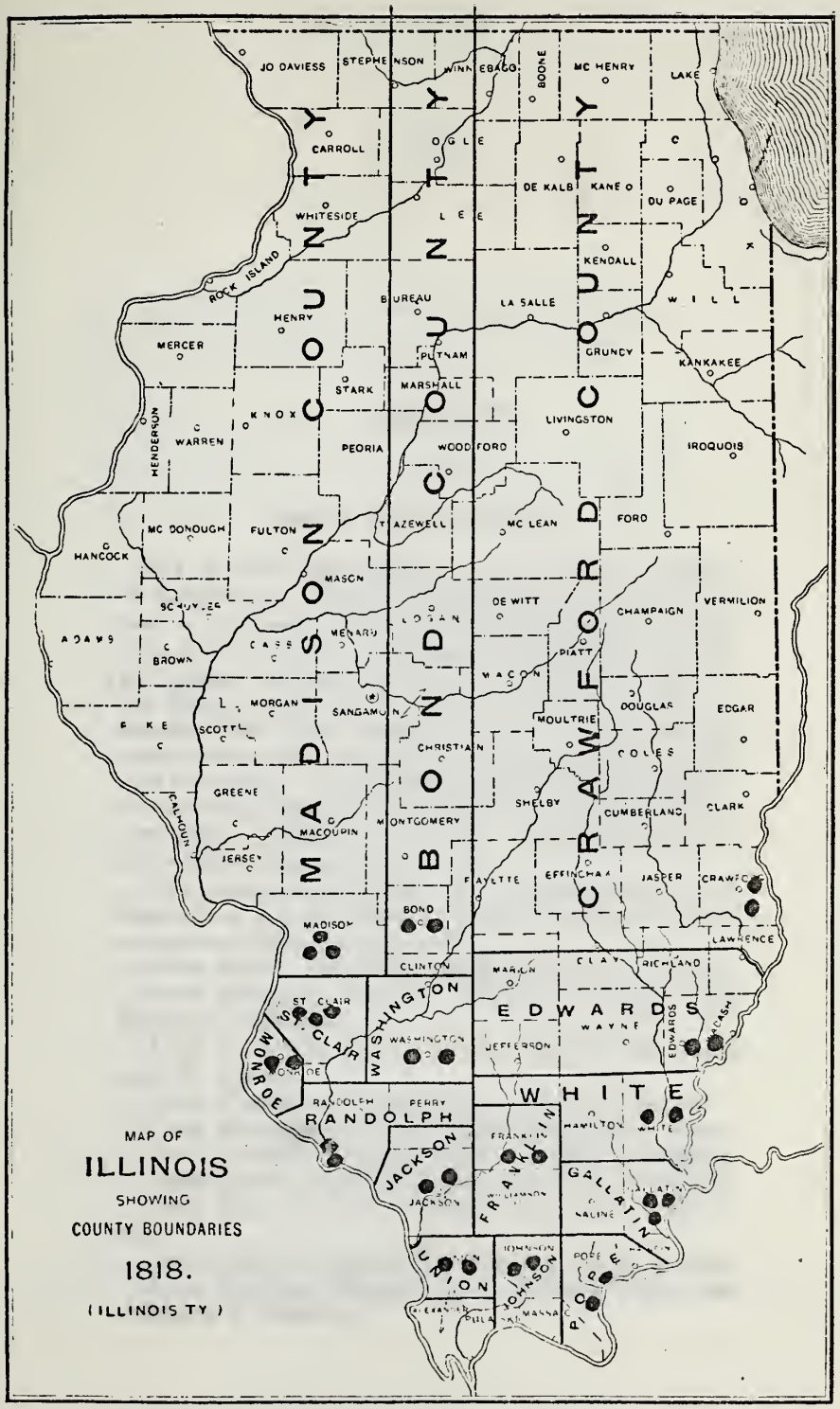
As appears from the Journal itself, 500 copies were ordered to be printed, but as they were only stitched and unbound they were easily destroyed. This particular copy did not escape rough usage, at a period before my own recollection. It has

remained in its present condition for very many years, and was apparently bound by the state printer after the title page and the proceedings of the last two days of the convention were torn away.

Imperfect as it is, the Journal contains all the substantial work of the convention, lacking merely the final record of the engrossment of the constitution and of the signatures of the members thereto.

I hardly need say that I prize it very highly, but deem it my duty to yield up its possession to the State as a necessary link in the chain of its history, and where it can be preserved as a relic of that period so important in connection with its marvelous growth.

Very respectfully,
J. W. KITCHELL.



The black dots on the map indicate the number of representatives from each County in the Constitutional Convention of 1818.

JOURNAL

of

THE CONVENTION.

AT A CONVENTION begun and held at the town of Kaskaskia on Monday the third day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, for the purpose of forming a constitution and state government pursuant to the act of congress passed on the 18th of April, 1818, entitled "An act to enable the people of the Illinois territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the union on an equal footing with the original states:" A majority of representatives appearing, *Jesse B. Thomas* was chosen president, *T. V. W. Varick,* secretary and *Ezra Owen,* door-keeper pro. tem.

The representatives from the several counties were then called, and the following named members were present and took their seats, to-wit:

From Bond—Tho's Kirkpatrick & Samuel G. Morse.

From Madison—Abraham Prickett, J. Borough and Benjamin Stephenson.

From St. Clair—James Lemen, John Messinger and Jesse B. Thomas.

From Monroe—Caldwell Cairns and Enoch Moore.

From Randolph—Elias K. Kane and George Fisher.

From Johnson—Hezekiah West and W. M'Fatridge.

From Union—William Echols and John Whiteaker.

From Pope—Samuel Omelveny and Hamlet Ferguson.

From Franklin—Isham Harrison and Tho's. Roberts.

From Gallatin—Michael Jones, Leonard White and Adolphus F. Hubbard.

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From White—Willis Hargrave and Wm. M'Henry.
From Edwards—Seth Gard and Levi Compton.
From Crawford—Joseph Kitchell and Edward N. Cullom.

On motion,

Ordered, that the Convention now proceed by ballot to elect a secretary, whereupon a ballot was taken, and on counting the same, William C. Greenup was declared to be duly elected, who gave his attendance accordingly.

On motion,

Ordered, that the Convention now proceed to the choice of a president, whereupon a ballot was taken, and on counting the same, Jesse B. Thomas was declared to be duly chosen, who made acknowledgements for that honor in the following words :

Gentlemen,

Impressed with the high sense of the honor confered on me by being called to the chair, and doubting my own abilities to fill the situation with propriety, it is with extreme diffidence that I enter upon the discharge of the duties of the situation thus assigned me : I can only assure you that so far as I possess the capacity nothing shall be wanting on my part to support the dignity of this convention. And whilst I solicit your aid and indulgence on this occasion, suffer me to remark that a spirit of indulgence and harmony amongst ourselves is the surest guarantee to a happy termination of the great work before us : and thereupon, he took the chair.

On motion,

Ordered, that the convention now proceed to elect a sergeant-at-arms, whereupon a ballot was taken, and on counting the same, Ezra Owen was declared to be duly elected, who gave his attendance accordingly.

On motion of Mr. *Kane,*

Resolved, that a standing committee of three be appointed to examine the certificates of the setting members of this convention and report thereon.

(5)

Ordered, that Messrs. Kane, Stephenson and Hargrave be that committee.

On motion of Mr. *Messinger,*

Resolved, that a committee of three be appointed whose duty it shall be to form or adopt a set of rules and regulations for the government of the convention.

Ordered, that Messrs. Messinger, Fisher and Cullom be that committee.

On motion of Mr. *Moore,*

Resolved, that a committee of three be appointed whose duty it shall be to wait upon some minister of the gospel on behalf of this convention and request his attendance to open their next meeting with prayer.

Ordered, that Messrs. Moore, Gard and Hubbard be that committee.

Then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, 9 o'clock.

TUESDAY, August 4, 1818.

The Convention met, and was opened with an appropriate solemn prayer by the reverend Mr. Mitchell, at the request of the committee appointed for that purpose on yesterday.

Four other representatives appeared and took their seats, to-wit :

From Jackson county—Conrad Will and James Hall.

From Washington County—Andrew Bankson and John K. Mangham.

On motion of Mr. *Kane,*

Resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to examine the returns made to the secretary's office of this territory, in conformity with the acts of the territorial legislature passed at their last session directing a census of the inhabitants of said territory to be taken, and make report thereon. And also, to receive and report such other evidence of the actual population of the territory as to them shall seem proper.

Ordered, that messrs. Kane, Kitchell and Cairns be that committee.

(6)

The Convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, August 5, 1818.

The Convention met.

Mr. Kane from the committee appointed to examine the certificates and other vouchers of the setting members of this convention reported that the following gentlemen were duly elected and are entitled to their seats :

From the county of Bond—Samuel G. Morse and Thomas Kirkpatrick.

Madison—Benj. Stephenson, Abraham Prickett and Joseph Borough.

St. Clair—James Lemen, jr. John Messinger and Jesse B. Thomas.

Washington—John K. Mangham and Andrew Bankson.

Monroe—Enoch Moore and Caldwell Cairns.

Randolph—George Fisher and Elias K. Kane.

Jackson—Conrad Will and James Hall, jr.

Union—William Echols and John Whiteaker.

Johnson—Hezekiah West William M'Fatridge.

Franklin—Isham Harrison and Thomas Roberts.

Gallatin—Michael Jones, Leonard White and Adolphus F. Hubbard.

Pope—Samuel Omelvenvy and Hamlet Ferguson.

White—Willis Hargrave and William M'Henry.

Edwards—Seth Gard and Levi Compton.

Crawford—Joseph Kitchell and Edward N. Cullom.

Which said report was read, considered and concurred in by the convention.

Mr. Kane from the committee appointed to examine the returns made by the commissioners in obedience to the acts of the territorial legislature, directing a census of the inhabitants of the territory to be taken; and to receive and report such other evidences of the state of the population of the said territory as to them should seem proper, reported, that the commissioners aforesaid have returned to the office of the secretary of the territory from the se-

veral counties, the following number of inhabitants, viz:

From the county of	Bond	1398
	Madison	6303
	St. Clair	5039
	Washington	1819
	Monroe	1517
	Randolph	2974
	Jackson	1619
	Johnson	767
	Union	2709
	Pope	2069
	Franklin	1281
	Gallatin	3849
	White	3832
	Edwards	2243
	Crawford	2839

Making the whole number of inhabitants within the territory 40,258

Which said report was read, considered and concurred in by the convention.

Mr. Fisher from the committee appointed to form or adopt a set of rules and regulations for the government of the convention, made their report, which was read, considered and amended ; and on motion of Mr. Fisher, the further consideration thereof was postponed until tomorrow.

Mr. Prickett offered the following resolution :

Whereas it appears from the census directed to be taken of the inhabitants of the Illinois territory by the legislature thereof, that there are upwards of 40,000 inhabitants within it, therefore,

Resolved, that it is expedient to form a constitution and state government.

Mr. Kane moved to postpone the consideration of the resolution until to morrow, which motion was determined in the negative. The resolution was then considered and passed by the convention.

On motion of Mr. *White,*

(8)

Resolved, that a committee of fifteen, one from each county, be appointed whose duty it shall be to frame and report to this convention a constitution for the people of the territory of Illinois.

Ordered, that Messrs. White, Kane, Prickett, Lemen, Cairns, Cullom, Hargrave, Compton, Roberts, Kirkpatrick, Bankson, Hall, West, Echols and Omelveny be that committee.

On motion of Mr. *Kitchell,*

Resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to contract with Messrs. Blackwell and Berry for printing the journals of this convention.

Ordered, that Messrs. Kitchell, Ferguson and Borough be that committee.

The Convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

THURSDAY, August 6, 1818.

The Convention met.

On motion of Mr. *Cullom,*

The Convention proceeded to consider the report of the committee appointed to form or adopt a set of rules and regulations for the government of the Convention, and the same being read and amended, was concurred in and passed by the convention, as follows :

RULES AND ORDERS FOR CONDUCTING THE BUSINESS OF THE CONVENTION OF ILLINOIS.

THE DUTIES OF THE PRESIDENT.

He shall take the chair every day precisely at the hour to which the convention shall been adjourned on the preceding day; shall immediately call the members to order, and on the appearance of a quorum, shall cause the journal of the preceding day to be read.

He shall preserve decorum and order ; may speak to points of order in preference to other members, rising from his seat for that purpose, and shall decide questions of order subject to an appeal to the convention by any

(9)

two members ; on which appeal, no member shall speak more than once, unless by leave of the convention.

He shall rise to put a question, but may state it sitting.

Questions shall be distinctly put in this form, to-wit : "as many as are of opinion that (as the question may be) say aye," and after the affirmative voice is expressed, "as many as are of the contrary opinion say no." If the President doubts or a division be called for, the convention shall divide; those in the affirmative of the question shall first rise from their seats, and afterwards those in the negative. If the President still doubts, or a count be required, the President shall name two members, one from each side to tell the members in the affirmative, which being reported, he shall then name two others, one from each side to tell those in the negative, which being also reported, he shall rise and state the decision to the Convention.

The President shall examine and correct the Journal before it be read. He shall have a general direction of the Hall. He shall have the right to name any member to perform the duties of the chair, but such substitution shall not exceed beyond an adjournment.

All committees shall be appointed by the President, unless otherwise specially directed by the Convention, in which case they shall be appointed by ballot ; and if upon such ballot, the number required shall not be elected by a majority of the votes given, the Convention shall proceed to a second ballot, in which a plurality of votes shall prevail ; and in case a greater number than is required to compose or complete a committee shall have an equal number of votes, the Convention shall proceed to a further ballot or ballots.

In all cases of ballot by the Convention, the President shall vote, in other cases he shall not vote, unless the Convention be equally divided, or unless his vote, if given to the minority will make the division equal, and in case of such equal division, the question shall be lost.

In case of any disturbance or disorderly conduct in

(10)

the galleries or lobby, the President shall have power to order the same to be cleared.

Stenographers wishing to take down the debates may be admitted by the President, who shall assign such places to them on the floor, or elsewhere to effect their object, as shall not interfere with the convenience of the Convention.

OF DECORUM AND DEBATE.

When any member is about to speak in debate, or deliver any matter to the Convention, he shall rise from his seat and respectfully address himself to "Mr. President" (not moving on the floor) and shall confine himself to the question under debate, and avoid personality.

If any member, in speaking, or otherwise transgress the rules of the Convention, the President shall or any member may call to order ; in which case the member so called to order, shall immediately sit down, unless permitted to explain ; and the Convention shall, if appealed to, decide on the case, but without debate; if there be no appeal, the decision of the chair shall be submitted to ; if the decision be in favor of the member called to order he shall be at liberty to proceed; if otherwise, and the case require it, he shall be liable to the censure of the Convention.

When two or more members happen to rise at once, the President shall name the member who is first to speak.

No member shall speak more than once to the same question, until every member choosing to speak shall have spoken.

Whilst the President is putting any question, or addressing the Convention, none shall walk out of, or across the room ; nor in such case, or when a member is speaking, shall entertain private discourse, nor whilst a member is speaking shall pass between him and the chair.

Every member who shall be in the convention when the question is put, shall give his vote, unless the Convention, for special reasons, shall excuse him.

(11)

When a motion is made and seconded, it shall be stated by the President, or being in writing, it shall be handed to the chair, and read aloud by the Secretary before debated.

Every motion shall be reduced to writing, if the President or any member desire it.

After a motion is stated by the President, or read by the secretary, it shall be deemed in the possession of the Convention ; but may be withdrawn at any time before a decision or amendment.

When a question is under debate, no motion shall be received but to adjourn.

A motion to adjourn shall always be in order, and shall be decided without debate.

No person shall be permitted to smoke tobacco in the convention while in session.

In debate, no person shall speak more than three times to the same question without leave of the convention.

After the President has called to order on each day, there shall be no reading of newspapers or any other documents, that does not immediately concern the business for which we are convened.

The yeas and nays shall be taken when requested by any five of the members of this convention.

Each and every article which may be contained in the draft of a constitution presented by any committee, or member, shall be separately considered by the convention; and no article shall be considered as a part of the constitution, until the same shall have been read on three different days, unless such readings shall have been dispensed with by the votes of two-thirds of the whole number of the members elected.

It shall be the duty of the sergeant-at-arms, to attend the convention during its sitting ; to execute the commands of the convention from time to time, together with all such process issued by authority thereof, as shall be directed to him by the president.

It shall be the duty of the secretary, to keep a book, in which he shall seasonably record the motions, rules and

decisions of the convention, and to do and perform all such other acts pertaining to his office, as may be required of him by the president or the convention.

On motion of mr. *Borough,*

Resolved, that the committee appointed to contract for the printing of the journals of this convention be authorised to contract for the printing of thirty-three copies of the rules and regulations of the convention at the individual expense of the members; and also for the printing of thirty-three copies of the constitution when reported by the committee appointed for that purpose, at the public expense.

On motion of mr. *Fisher,*

Resolved, that a committee of two be appointed to contract for stationary for the use of the convention.

Ordered, that messrs. Fisher and M'Henry be that committee.

Mr. Gard offered the following resolution:

Resolved, that a committee be appointed to draft an ordinance to establish the bounds of the state of Illinois and for other purposes. On motion of mr. Kane, the consideration of the said resolution was postponed until to-morrow.

Mr. Hubbard offered the following resolution:

Resolved, that a committittee of five be appointed to draft an ordinance acknowledging and ratifying the donations made by an act of congress passed in April, 1818. On the motion of mr. Kane, the consideration of the said resolution was postponed until to-morrow.

On motion of mr. *Kitchell,*

Resolved, that the committee appointed to contract for the printing of the journals of this convention be authorized to contract for the printing of five hundred copies of the same.

The Convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

FRIDAY, August 7, 1818.

The Convention met.

Mr. Messinger moved to reconsider the resolution

passed on yesterday authorising the committee appointed to contract for printing the journals of this convention, to contract for printing 500 copies of the same: which motion was decided in the negative.

Mr. Kane presented two petitions signed by sundry inhabitants of Randolph county, one praying that this convention shall declare in the constitution to be formed that the moral law is the basis of its structure, and acknowledge therein an universal parent. The other praying that this convention may declare the scriptures to be the word of God, and that the constitution is founded upon the same: which said petitions were received and read:

On motion of mr. *Kitchell,*

Resolved, that the petitions from sundry citizens of Randolph county be refered to a select committee of five, with leave to report thereon.

Ordered, that messrs. Kitchell, M'Fatridge, Will, Whiteaker and Harrison be that committee.

On motion of mr. *Messinger,*

The Convention proceeded to consider the resolution offered on yesterday by mr. Gard, to appoint a committee to draft an ordinance to establish the bounds of the state of Illinois and for other purposes. On the motion of mr. Fisher, the convention was discharged from the further consideration of the said resolution.

On motion of mr. *Hubbard,*

The Convention proceeded to consider the resolution offered yesterday by him: Mr. Kane then moved an amendment thereto by way of substitute, which was passed by the convention as follows:

Resolved, that the committee appointed to draft the constitution, be instructed to consider of the expediency of accepting or rejecting the propositions made to this convention by the congress of the United States, and if in their opinion it shall be expedient to accept the same, it shall be their further duty to draft an ordinance irrevocable, complying with the conditions annexed to the acceptance of such propositions in the act for the admission of this territory in the union, and report thereon.

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The Convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning, 9 o'clock.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8, 1818.

The Convention met, and adjourned until next Monday morning 9 o'clock.

MONDAY, August 10, 1818..

The Convention met.

Mr. Cullom asked and obtained leave to lay before the convention a draft of sundry additional rules and regulations for the government of the convention which were handed in at the secretary's table and read: and on the motion of mr. Cullom, the same was ordered to be laid on the table until to-morrow.

Then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning, 9 o'clock.

TUESDAY, August 11, 1818.

The Convention met.

Mr. Bankson addressed the President as follows:
Mr. President,

It is with deep regret I have to announce to you and to this convention, the death of one of its members, my colleague John K. Mangham, who departed this life at one o'clock this mornnig.

On the motion of Mr. *White,*

Resolved, that the members of this convention be requested to wear crape on the left arm for the space of 30 days in testimony of their respect for the memory of the late John K. Mangham, a member from the county of Washington.

Resolved, that a committee of three be appointed to make the necessary arrangements for the funeral service and burial of John K. Mangham, late a member of this convention.

Ordered, that messrs. White, Bankson and Morse be that committee.

The Convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

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WEDNESDAY, August 12, 1818.

The Convention met.

On the motion of Mr. *Cullom,*

The Convention proceeded to consider the propositions of sundry additional rules and regulations for the government of the convention offered by mr. Cullom on Monday last, which being taken up and read, the question being put on adopting the same, it was determined in the negative.

Mr. Kitchell from the committee appointed to contract with messrs. Blackwell and Berry, for printing the journals, &c. of the convention, reported the following contract which they had made, to-wit:

KASKASKIA, August 8, 1818.

To the Committee appointed to contract for printing the Journals of the Convention of Illinois.

GENTLEMEN—

We the undersigned propose to print the journals of the convention of Illinois, now in session, on the following terms, viz.

For composing each page	$ 1 00
paper, per ream, (20 quires).....	6 00
press work, per to token, (10 qrs.).....	1 00
folding and stitching, per copy.....	06

The work shall be executed as expeditiously as possible. It is understood that all the printing that we do, is to be done on the same terms.

Your's respectfully,
BLACKWELL & BERRY,
Public Printers.

The committee have had the above proposals under consideration, and have agreed to have 500 copies of the journals printed, agreeably to the direction of the convention, and thirty-three copies of the draft of the constitution as reported by the committee.

Which said proposals and report being read, on the

motion of mr. Cullom, they were concurred in by the convention.

Mr. White from the committee appointed to frame and report to this convention a constitution for the people of the territory of Illinois, reported that the committee had performed that duty, and had made a draft of a constitution, which was then handed in at the secretary's table, where the same was read as follows, to-wit:

THE DRAUGHT &c.

WE, the representatives of the people of the Illinois territory, having the right of admission into the general government as a member of the Union, consistent with the constitution of the United States, the ordinance of Congress of 1787, and the law of Congress, "approved April 18,1818," entitled, "An act to enable the people of the Illinois territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, and for other purposes;" in order to establish justice, promote the welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish the following constitution or form of government, and do mutually agree with each other, to form ourselves into a free and independent state, by the name of the STATE OF ILLINOIS. And we do hereby ratify the boundaries assigned to such state by the act of Congress aforesaid, which are as follows to-wit: Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash river thence up the same, and with the line of Indiana, to the north west corner of said state; thence east with the line of the same state, to the middle of lake Michigan; thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude forty-two degrees thirty minutes; thence west to the middle of the Mississippi river; and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio river; and thence up the latter river along its north western shore to the beginning.

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ARTICLE I.

CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT.

SEC. 1. The powers of the government of the state of Illinois, shall be divided into three distinct departments, and each of them be confided to a separate body of magistracy, to-wit: Those which are legislative to one; those which are executive to another; and those which are judiciary, to another.

SEC. 2. No person or collection of persons, being one of those departments, shall exercise any power, properly belonging to either of the others, except in the instances hereinafter expressly directed or permitted.

ARTICLE II.

SEC. 1. The legislative authority of this state, shall be vested in a general assembly, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives, both to be elected by the people.

SEC. 2. Members to the house of representatives shall be chosen on the in August, and shall continue in service for the term of from the day of the commencement of the general election.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of years, and be a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of this state: Shall also have resided within the limits of the county or district in which he shall be chosen months next preceding his election, unless he shall have been absent on the public business of the United States or of this state.

SEC. 4. The senators shall be chosen on the of August by the qualified voters for representatives; and at their first session after this constitution takes effect, they shall be divided by lot, from their respective counties or districts, as near as can be, into two classes; the seat of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the year, and of the second class, at the expiration of the year, so that one half there-

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of, as near as possible, may be chosen forever thereafter.

SEC. 5. The number of senators and representatives shall at the first session of the general assembly, holden after the returns herein provided for are made, be fixed by the legislature and apportioned among the several counties or districts to be established by law according to the number of free white inhabitants, the number of representatives shall never be less than nor more than until the number of inhabitants within this state shall amount to but the representatives at no time thereafter shall exceed hundred, and the number of senators shall never be less than one third, nor more than one half of the number of representatives.

SEC. 6. No person shall be a senator who has not arrived at the age of years, and is a citizen of the United States, shall have resided year in the county or district immediately preceding the election, unless he shall have been absent on the public business of the United States or of this state, and shall moreover have paid a state or county tax.

SEC. 7. The senate and house of representatives when assembled, shall each choose a speaker, and its other officers; be judges of the qualifications and elections of its members, and sit upon its own adjournments. Two-thirds of each house shall constitute a quorum to do business, but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day and compel the attendance of absent members.

SEC 8. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings and publish them ; the yeas and nays of the members on any question, shall at the desire of any two of them be entered on the journals.

SEC. 9. Any two members of either house shall have liberty to dissent from, and protest against any act or resolution which they may think injurious to the public or any individual, and have the reasons of their dissent entered on the journals.

SEC. 10. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behaviour,

and with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member, but not a second time for the same cause.

SEC. 11. When vacancies happen in either house, the governor or the person exercising the powers of the governor, shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

SEC. 12. Senators and representatives, shall in all cases, except treason, felony or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during the session of the general assembly, and in going to, and returning from the same, and for any speech or debate in either house, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

SEC. 13. Each house may punish by imprisonment during their sessions, any person not a member, who shall be guilty of disrespect to the house, by any disorderly or contemptuous behaviour in their presence, provided such imprisonment shall not at any one time exceed twenty-four hours.

Sec. 14. The doors of each house and of committees of the whole, shall be kept open, except in such cases as in the opinion of the house requires secrecy. Neither house shall without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than two days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SEC. 15. Bills may originate in either house, but may be altered, amended, or rejected by the other.

SEC. 16. Every bill shall be read on three different days in each house, unless in case of urgency, three fourths of the house, where such bill is so depending, shall deem it expedient to dispense with this rule ; and every bill having passed both houses, shall be signed by the speakers of their respective houses.

SEC. 17. The style of the laws of this state shall be "Be it enacted by the people of the state of Illinois, represented in the general assembly."

SEC.18. The legislature of this state shall not allow the following officers of government greater annual salaries than as follows, until the year The governor not more that dollars ; the secretary of state, not more than dollars; the members of the legislature not more

than dollars per day, during their attendance on the legislature, nor more than dollars for every twenty-five miles they shall travel in going to and returning from the general assembly.

SEC. 19. No senator or representative, shall during the time for which he shall have been elected, be appointed to any civil office under this state, which shall have been created, or the emoluments of which shall have been increased during such time.

SEC. 20. No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations made by law.

SEC. 21. An accurate statement of the receipts and expenditures of the public money, shall be attached to, and published with the laws annually.

SEC. 22. The house of representatives shall have the sole power of impeaching, but a majority of all the members must concur in an impeachment; all impeachments shall be tried by the senate; and when sitting for that purpose, the senators shall be upon oath or affirmation to do justice according to law and evidence ; no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of all the senators.

SEC. 23. The governor and all other civil officers under this state, shall be liable to impeachment, for any misdemeanor in office ; but judgment in such cases shall not extend further than removal from office, and disqualification to hold any office of honor, profit or trust under this state. The party whether convicted, or acquited, shall nevertheless be liable to indictment, trial judgment and punishment according to law.

SEC. 24. The first session of the general assembly shall commence on the first Monday of next; and forever after, the general assembly shall meet on the first Monday of in every year, and at no other period, unless directed by law, or provided for by this constitution.

SEC. 25. No judge of any court of law, or equity, secretary of state, attorney-general, attorneys for the state, register, clerk of any court of record, sheriff or collector,

member of either house of congress, or person holding any lucrative office, under the United States or this state, (provided that appointments in the militia or justices of the peace shall not be considered lucrative offices) shall become a candidate for, or have a seat in the general assembly.

SEC. 26. Whereas, the ministers of the gospel are by their professions, dedicated to God and the care of souls, and ought not to be diverted from the great duties of their functions : Therefore, no minister of the gospel or priest of any denomination whatever, shall be eligible to a seat in either house of the legislature.

SEC. 27. Every person who shall be chosen or appointed to any office of trust, or profit, shall before the execution thereof, take an oath to support the constitution of the United States and of this state, and also an oath of office.

SEC. 28. In all elections, all white male inhabitants, above the age of twenty-one years, having resided in the state six months next preceding the election, shall enjoy the right of an elector, but no person shall be entitled to vote, except in the county or district in which he shall actually reside at the time of the election.

SEC. 29. All votes shall be given vive voce until altered by the legislature.

SEC. 30. Electors shall in all cases, except treason, felony or breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at elections, and in going to and returning from the same.

SEC. 31. The legislature shall have full power to exclude from the privilege of electing or being elected, any persons convicted of bribery, perjury or any other infamous crime.

SEC. 32. In the year one thousand eight hundred and and every year thereafter, an enumeration of all the white male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years shall be made in such manner as shall be directed by law.

SEC. 33. No minister of the gospel, or priest of any

denomination whatever, shall be compelled to do militia duty, work on roads or serve on juries.

SEC. 34. All bills for raising a revenue shall originate in the house of representatives, subject however to amendment or rejection as in other cases.

SEC. 35. No seat of justice which has been or may hereafter be established according to law, shall be removed until a full compensation shall be made to the persons injuried by such removal in such manner as shall be prescribed by law: no new county shall be laid off by the legislature of this state unless a petition shall be presented to the legislature, signed by at least two hundred qualified voters, residing in the bounds of the district applying to be laid off. No petitions shall be received by the legislature praying for a new county, unless the same shall be published on the door of the court-house from which said county is intended to be taken, at least six months before the setting of the legislature to which they may apply.

ARTICLE III.

SEC. 1. The executive power of this state shall be vested in a Governor.

SEC. 2. The Governor shall be chosen by the electors of the members of the general assembly, on the day of at the same places and in the same manner that they shall respectively vote for members thereof. The returns for every election of governor shall be sealed up and transmitted to the seat of government by the returning officers, directed to the speaker of the senate, who shall open and publish them, in the presence of a majority of the members of each house of the general assembly. The person having the highest number of votes shall be governor, but if two or more shall be equal and highest in votes, then one of them shall be chosen governor by joint ballot of both houses of the general assembly. Contested elections shall be determined by both houses of the general assembly, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law.

SEC. 3. The first Governor shall hold his office until

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the first Monday of in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and and until another governor shall be elected and qualified to office, and forever after the governor shall hold his office for the term of years, and until another governor shall be elected and qualified, but he shall not be eligible more than years in any term of years. He shall be at least years of age, and have been a citizen of the United States years, and an inhabitant of this years next preceding his election.

SEC. 4. He shall from time to time give to the general assembly information of the state of the government, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall deem expedient.

SEC. 5. He shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons after conviction except in cases of impeachment.

SECTION 6. The governor shall at stated times receive a salary for his services which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the term for which he shall have been elected.

SEC. 7. He may require information in writing from the officers in the exeuctive department upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed.

SEC. 8. When any officer, the right of whose appointment is by this constitution vested in the general assembly, or in the governor and senate, shall during the recess die or his office by any means become vacant, the governor shall have power to fill such vacancy, by granting a commission which shall expire at the end of the next session of the general assembly.

SEC. 9. He may on extraordinary occasions convene the general assembly by proclamation, and shall state to them when assembled, the purpose for which they shall have been convened.

SEC. 10. He shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of this state, and of the militia, except when they shall be called into the service of the United States.

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SEC. 11. There shall be elected in each and every county in the said state, one sheriff and one coroner by the citizens who are qualified to vote for members of the assembly, and shall be elected at the places where elections for members to the general assembly are held, and shall be subject to such rules and regulations in said elections as shall be prescribed by law. The said sheriffs respectively when elected shall continue in office two years, be subject to removal or disqualification, and such other rules and regulations as may from time to time be prescribed by law. No sheriff shall be eligible for said office for a longer time than four years in any term of six years.

SEC. 12. In case of disagreement between the two houses with respect to the time of adjournment, the governor shall have the power to adjourn the general assembly to such time as he thinks proper, provided it be not a period beyond the meeting of the same.

SEC. 13. In case of the impeachment of the governor, his removal from office, death, refusal to qualify, resignation or absence from the state, the speaker of the senate shall exercise all the powers and authority appertaining to the office of governor until the time pointed out by this constitution for the election of governor shall arrive, unless the general assembly shall provide by law for the election of a governor to fill the vacancy.

SEC. 14. The speaker of the senate during the time he administers the government, shall receive the same compensation which the governor would have received had he been employed in the duties of his office.

SEC. 15. The governor for the time being and the judges of the supreme court or a major part of them together with the governor shall be and hereby are constituted a council to revise all bills about to be passed into laws by the general assembly; and for that purpose shall assemble themselves from time to time when the general assembly shall be convened; for which nevertheless they shall not receive any salary or consideration under any pretense whatever. And all bills which have passed

the senate and house of representatives, shall before they become laws be presented to the said council for their revisal and consideration, and if upon such revisal and consideration, it should appear improper in the said council or a majority of them, that the bill should become a law of this state, they shall return the same together with their objections therein writing to the senate, or house of representatives, (in which so ever the same shall have originated) who shall enter the objections set down by the council at large in their minutes and proceed to reconsider the said bill. But if after such reconsideration, the said senate or house of representatives shall notwithstanding the said objections agree to pass the same, it shall together with the objections be sent to the other branch of the general assembly where it shall also be reconsidered, and if approved by of the members present, it shall be a law. If any bill shall not be returned within ten days after it shall have been presented, the same shall be a law, unless the general assembly shall, by their adjournment render a return of the said bill within ten days impracticable, in which case the bill shall be returned on the first day of the meeting of the general assembly after the expiration of the said ten days.

SEC. 16. The governor shall nominate and by and with the advice and consent of the senate appoint a secretary of state, who shall keep a fair register of the official acts of the governor, and when required, shall lay the same and all papers, minutes and vouchers relative thereto, before either branch of the general assembly, and shall perform such other duties as shall be assigned him by law.

ARTICLE IV.

SEC. 1. The judicial power of this state shall be vested in one supreme court, and such inferior courts as the general assembly shall from time to time ordain and establish.

SEC. 2. The supreme court shall be holden at the seat of government, and shall have an appellate jurisdiction only, except in cases relating to the revenue, in cases of

mandamus, and in such cases of impeachment as may be required to be tried before it.

SEC. 3. The supreme court shall consist in a chief justice and associate justices, any of whom shall form a quorum. The number of justices may however be increased by the general assembly, after the year one thousand eight hundred and to the number of

SEC. 4. The justices of the supreme court, and the judges of the inferior courts shall be appointed by joint ballot of both branches of the general assembly, and commissioned by the governor; and shall hold their offices during good behaviour, until the end of the first session of the general assembly, which shall be begun and held after the first day of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and at which time their commissions shall expire; and until the expiration of which time the said justices respectively shall hold circuit courts in the several counties in such manner and at such times, and shall have and exercise such jurisdiction as the general assembly shall by law prescribe. But ever after the aforesaid period, the justices of the supreme court shall be commissioned during good behaviour, and the justices thereof shall not hold circuit courts unless required by law.

SEC. 5. Judges of the inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behaviour, but for any reasonable cause which shall not be sufficient ground for impeachment, both the judges of the supreme and inferior courts shall be removed from office, on the address of three fourths of each branch of the general assembly; provided always, that no member of either house of the genral assembly or any person connected with him by consanguinity or affinity, shall be appointed to fill the vacancy occasioned by such removal. The said justices of the supreme court during their temporary appointments, shall receive an annual salary of dollars payable quarter yearly out of the public treasury. The judges of the inferior courts, and the justices of the supreme court

which may be appointed after the end of the first session of the general assembly, which shall be begun and held after the first day of January in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and shall have adequate and competent salaries, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. 6. The supreme court, or a majority of justices thereof, the circuit courts, or the justices thereof, shall respectively appoint their own clerks.

SEC. 7. All process, writs and other proceedings shall run in the name of "the people of the state of Illinois;" all prosecutions shall be carried on "in the name and by the authority of the people of the state of Illinois," and conclude against the peace and dignity of the same.

SEC. 8. The governor shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, appoint a competent number of justices of the peace in each county.

ARTICLE V.

SEC. 1. The militia of the state of Illinois shall consist of all free male able bodied persons, negroes, mulat, toes and Indians excepted, resident in the state, between the ages of 18 and 45 years, except such persons as now are or hereafter may be exempted by the laws of the United States, or of this state; and shall be armed, equipped and trained as the general assembly may provide by law.

SEC. 2. No person or persons, conscientiously scrupulous of bearing arms, shall be compelled to do militia duty in time of peace, provided such person or persons shall pay an equivalent for such exemption.

SEC. 3. Company, battalion and regimental officers, (staff officers excepted) shall be elected by the persons composing their several companies, battalions and regiments.

SEC. 4. Brigadier and major-generals shall be elected by the officers of their brigades and divisions respectively.

SEC. 5. All militia officers shall be commissioned by the governor, and shall hold their commissions during good behaviour, or until they arrive at the age of years.

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ARTICLE VI.

SEC. 1. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in this state, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; nor shall any male person, arrived at the age of years, nor female person arrived at the age of years, be held to serve any person as servant under pretence of indenture or otherwise, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a bona fide consideration, received or to be received for their service, except as before excepted. Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulattto, hereafter made and executed out of this state, or if made in the state where the term of service exceeds one year, be of the least validity, except those given in the case of apprenticeships.

ARTICLE VII.

SEC. 1. Whenever two-thirds of the general assembly shall think it necessary to amend or change this constitution, they shall recommend to the electors at the next election for members to the general assembly, to vote for or against a convention; and if it shall appear that a majority of all the citizens of the state voting for representatives have voted for a convention, the general assembly shall at their next session call a convention to consist of as many members as there may be in the general assembly; to be chosen in the same manner, at the same place, and by the same electors that choose the general assembly; who shall meet within three months after the said election, for the purpose of revising, amending or changing the constitution.

ARTICLE VIII.

That the general, great and essential principles of liberty and free government may be recognized and unalterably established, *we declare,*

SEC. 1. That all men are born equally free and independent, and have certain inherent and indefeasible rights,

among which are these of enjoying and defending life and liberty, of acquiring, possession and protecting property and reputation, and of pursuing their own happiness.

SEC. 2. That all power is inherent in the people; and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety and happiness.

SEC. 3. That all men have a natural and indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man can, of right, be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; that no human authority can in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience, and that no preference shall ever be given by law, to any religious establishments or modes or worship.

SEC. 4. That no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under this state.

SEC. 5. That elections shall be free and equal.

SEC. 6. That the right of trial by jury, shall remain inviolate.

SEC. 7. That the people shall be secure in their persons, houses, papers and possessions, from unreasonable searches and seizures; and that general warrants, whereby an officer may be commanded to search supected places without evidence of the fact committed, or to seize any person or persons not named, whose offences are not particularly described and supported by evidence, are dangerous to liberty, and ought not to be granted.

SEC. 8. That no freeman, shall be taken or imprisoned or disseized of his freehold, liberty or privileges, or outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, or deprived of his life, liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land. And all lands which have been granted as a common to the inhabitants of any town, hamlet, village or corporation by any person, body politic or corporate, or by any government having power to make such grant, shall forever remain com-

mon to the inhabitants of such town, hamlet, village or corporation ; and no such common shall in any way be disposed of without the consent of the inhabitants of such town, hamlet, village or members of such corporation first had and obtained.

SEC. 9. That in all criminal prosecutions, the accused hath a right to be heard by himself and council ; to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him; to meet the witnesses face to face; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor. And in prosecutions by indictment or information, a speedy public trial, by an impartial jury of the vicinage. That he cannot be compelled to give evidence against himself.

SEC. 10. That no person shall for any indictable offence be proceeded against criminally by information, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or the militia when in actual service, in time of war or public danger, by leave of the courts, for oppression or misdemeanor in office.

SEC. 11. No person shall for the same offence be twice put in jeopardy of his life or limb; nor shall any man's property be taken or applied to public use without the consent of his representatives and without just compensation being previously made to him.

SEC. 12. Every person within this state ought to find a certain remedy by having recourse to the laws, for all injuries or wrongs which he may receive in his person, property or character, he ought to obtain right and justice freely, and without being obliged to purchase it, completely and without denial, promptly and without delay, conformably to the laws.

SEC. 13. That all persons shall be bailable by sufficient sureties, unless for capital offences, where the proof is evident or the presumption great, and the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

SEC. 14. All penalties shall be proportioned to the

nature of the offence, the true design of all punishments being to reform, not to exterminate mankind.

SEC. 15. The person of a debtor, where there is not strong presumption of fraud, shall not be continued in prison, after delivering up his estate for the benefit of his creditor or creditors, in such manner as shall be prescrib- by law.

SEC. 16. No ex post facto law, nor any law impairing the validity of contracts shall ever be made, and no conviction shall work corruption of blood or forfeiture of estate.

SEC. 17. That no person shall be liable to be transported out of this state for any offence committed within this state.

SEC. 18. That a frequent recurrence to the fundamental principles of civil government, is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty.

SEC. 19. That the people have a right to assemble together in a peaceable manner, to consult for their common good, to instruct their representatives, and to apply to the legislature for redress of grievances.

SEC. 20. That the mode of levying a tax shall be by valuation, so that every person shall pay a tax in proportion to the value of the property, he or she has in his or her possession.

SEC. 21. That there shall be no other banks nor monied institutions in this state, but those already provided for by law, except a state bank and its branches, which shall be established and regulated by the legislature of said state, as they may think best.

SEC. 22. To guard against the transgressions of the high powers which we have delegated, we declare that all powers not hereby delegated, or well understood, remain with the people.

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AN ORDINANCE.

Whereas, the Congress of the United States in the act entitled "An act to enable the people of the Illinois territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the union on an equal footing with the original states, passed the 18th of April, 1818," have offered to this convention for their free acceptance or rejection, the following propositions, which if accepted by the convention shall be obligatory upon the United States, to-wit:

1st. "That section numbered sixteen in every township, and when such section has been sold or otherwise disposed of, other lands equivalent thereto, and as contiguous as may be, shall be granted to the state for the use of the inhabitants of such township for the use of schools.

2nd. That all salt springs within such state and the lands reserved for the use of the same, shall be granted to the said state for the use of the said state, and the same to be used under such terms and conditions and regulations as the legislature of said state shall direct; provided the legislature shall never sell nor lease the same for a longer period than ten years at any one time.

3rd. That five per cent of the nett proceeds of the lands lying within such state, and which shall be sold by Congress from and after the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, after deducting all expenses incident to the same, shall be reserved for the purposes following, viz: Two-fifths to be disbursed under the direction of congress, in making roads leading to the state; the residue to be appropriated by the legislature of the state for the encouragement of learning, of which one-sixth part shall be exclusively bestowed on a college or university.

4th. That thirty-six sections or one entire township, which shall be designated by the President of the United States, together with the one heretofore reserved for that purpose, shall be reserved for the use of a seminary of learning, and vested in the legislature of the said state, to

be appropriated solely to the use of such seminary by the said legislature."

And whereas, the four foregoing propositions are offered on the condition that this convention shall provide by ordinance, irrevocable without the consent of the United States, that every and each tract of land sold by the United States from and after the first day of January, 1819, shall remain exempt from any tax laid by order or under any authority of the state, whether for state, county or township, or any other purpose whatever, for the term of five years from and after the day of sale. And further, that the bounty lands granted, or hereafter to be granted for military services during the late war, shall while they continue to be held by the patentees or their heirs, remain exempt as aforesaid from all taxes for the term of three years, from and after the date of the patents respectively; and that all the lands belonging to the citizens of the United States, residing without the said state shall never be taxed higher than lands belonging to persons residing therein.

Therefore, this convention, on behalf of and by the authority of the people of the state, do accept of the foregoing propositions; and do further ordain and declare, that every and each tract of land sold by the United States, from and after the first day of January, 1819, shall remain exempt from any tax laid by order or under any authority of the state, whether for state, county or township, or any purpose whatever, for the term of five years from and after the day of sale. And that the bounty lands granted or hereafter to be granted for military services during the late war, shall, while they continue to be held by the patentees or their heirs, remain exempt as aforesaid, from all taxes for the term of three years from and after the date of the patents respectively; and that all the lands belonging to the citizens of the United States, residing without the said state, shall never be taxed higher than lands belonging to persons residing therein. And this convention, do further ordain and declare, that the fore-

going ordinance, shall not be revoked without the consent of the United States.

On the motion of Mr. *White,*

Ordered, that the said draft of a constitution be received by the convention, and that the same be laid on the table until to-morrow : and that thirty-three copies thereof be printed for the use of the convention.

The Convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

THURSDAY, August 13, 1818.

The Convention met.

On the motion of Mr. Kitchell, the first and second articles, and the seven first sections of the third article of the draft of the constitution was taken up and read the first time.

On the motion of Mr. Kitchell, the convention proceeded to consider the said first and second articles, and the first seven sections of the third article, section by section.

ARTICLE I.

The first section was amended by striking out the word "confined," and inserting in lieu thereof, the word "confided."

The second section was amended by striking out the words "in the instances," and inserting the word "as" in lieu thereof.

ARTICLE II.

The first section was adopted without amendment.

The 2, 3, 4, 5 & 6 sections were then severally considered, amended and adopted as follows:

Sec. 2. Members to the house of representatives shall be chosen biennially on the first Monday in August, and shall continue in service for the term of two years from the day of the commencement of the general election.

Sec. 3. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-one years, and be a citizen of the United States and inhabitant of this state;

shall also have resided within the limits of the county or district in which he shall be chosen twelve months next preceding his election, unless he shall have been absent on the public business of the United States, or of this state.

Sec. 4. The senators shall be chosen in the month of August, on such days and at such places as the general assembly shall prescribe, by the qualified voters for representatives, and at their first session after this constitution takes effect, they shall be divided by lot from their respective counties or districts as near as can be into two classes : the seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, and of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, so that one half thereof as near as possible may be biennially chosen forever thereafter.

Sec. 5. The number of senators and representatives at the first session of the general assembly holden after the returns herein provided for are made, be fixed by the legislature and apportioned among the several counties or districts to be established by law according to the number of free white inhabitants. The number of representatives shall never be less than twenty-seven nor more than thirty-six until the number of inhabitants in this state shall amount to one hundred thousand, but the representatives at no time thereafter shall exceed one hundred, and the number of senators shall never be less than one-third, nor more than one half the number of representatives.

Sec. 6. No person shall be a senator who has not arrived at the age of twenty-five years, and is a citizen of the U. States; shall have resided two years in the county or district immediately preceding the election, unless he shall have been absent on the public business of the United States or of this state, and shall moreover have paid a state or county tax.

The 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 sections were considered and severally adopted without amendment.

The 18th section was amended and adopted as follows:

Sec. 18. The legislature of this state shall not allow

the following officers of government greater annual salaries than as follows, until the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four: the governor not more than twelve hundred and fifty dollars: the secretary of state not more than five hundred dollars: the members of the legislature not more than two dollars per day during their attendance on the legislature, nor more than two dollars for every twenty-five miles they shall travel in going to and returning from the general assembly.

The 19 and 20 sections were severally adopted without amendment.

The 21st section was amended and adopted by striking out the last word "annually" and inserting the words "at the rising of each session of the legislature."

The 22d section was adopted by adding the word "present" at the end thereof.

The 23, 24 and 25 sections were severally adopted without amendment.

Mr. Moore moved to strike out the whole of the 26th section, which motion was negatived, and the section was adopted without amendment.

The convention then adjourned until 3 o'clock, p.m. at which time the convention met again.

On motion of Mr. *Bankson,*

Resolved, that this convention enquire into the expediency of ordering an election to fill the vacancy of the late John K. Mangham, who was a member from the county of Washington.

On the motion of Mr. Bankson, ordered that the said resolution be referred to a committee of three to report thereon; and that Messrs. Bankson, Jones and Messinger be appointed that committee.

The convention then resumed the consideration of the second article of the constitution.

The 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31 sections were severally considered and adopted without amendment.

The 32d section was considered, amended and adopted as follows:

Sec. 32. In the year one thousand eight hundred and

twenty-five, and every fifth year thereafter an enumeration of all the free white inhabitants shall be made in such manner as shall be directed by law.

The 33 & 34 sections were severally considered and adopted without amendment.

On the motion of Mr. White, the whole of the 35th section was stricken out.

ARTICLE III.

The 1 and 2 sections were severally considered and adopted without amendment.

The 3 section was considered and adopted by filling up the third blank with the word 'four,' the fourth blank with the word 'four,' the fifth blank with the word 'eight,' the sixth blank with the word 'thirty,' and the seventh blank with the word 'ten.'

The 4, 5, 6 & 7 sections were severally considered and adopted without amendment.

Then the Convention adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 14, 1818.

The Convention met.

Mr. Bankson from the committee to whom was referred the resolution to enquire into the expediency of ordering an election to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of John K. Mangham a member from Washington county:

Reported, that the committee deem it inexpedient at this time for the convention to order such election; believing that an election could not be effected in time to answer the purpose of giving the said county their full representation in this convention before the same will have risen, which said report was read and received and concurred in by the convention.

On motion of Mr. Cullom, the last eight sections of the third article and the whole of the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th articles, and the first eighteen sections of the eighth article were taken up and read the first time.

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On the motion of Mr. Moore, the convention proceeded to consider the said eight last sections of the third article and the whole of the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th articles and the first eighteen sections of the eighth article, section by section.

ARTICLE III.

The 8th, 9th and 10th sections were considered and adopted without amendment.

The 11th section was considered, amended, and adopted as follows:

Sec. 11. There shall be elected in each and every county in the said state, one sheriff and one coroner by the citizens who are qualified to vote for members of the assembly and shall be elected at the places where elections for members to the general assembly are held, and shall be subject to such rules and regulations in said elections as shall be prescribed by law. The said sheriffs and coroners respectively when elected shall continue in office two years, be subject to removal and disqualification, and such other rules and regulations as may from time to time be prescribed by law. No sheriff or coroner shall be eligible to office for a longer time than four years in any term of six years.

The 12th section was considered and adopted by inserting the words "next constitutional," between the words "the" and "meeting," in the last line thereof.

The 13th section was considered and adopted, by striking out the word "the" in the first line before the word "impeachment," and inserting the word "an" in lieu thereof; and by striking out the word "vacancy" at the end of the section, and inserting the words "such vacancies."

The 14th section was considered and adopted without amendment.

The 15th section was considered, amended and adopted, as follows:

Sec. 15. All bills which have passed the senate and house of representatives, shall before they become laws be presented to the governor for his revisal and considera-

tion, and if upon such revisal and consideration, it should appear improper to him that the bill should become a law of this state, he shall return the same together with his objections thereto in writing to the senate, or house of representatives, (in which soever the same shall have originated) who shall enter the objections of the governor at large in their minutes and proceed to reconsider the said bill. But after such reconsideration, the said senate or house of representatives shall notwithstanding the said objections agree to pass the same, it shall together with the objections be sent to the other branch of the general assembly where it shall also be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of the members present, it shall be a law. If any bill shall not be returned within ten days after it shall have been presented, the same shall be a law, unless the general assembly shall, by their adjournment render a return of the said bill within ten days impracticable, in which case the bill shall be returned on the first day of the meeting of the general assembly after the expiration of the said ten days.

The 16th section was considered and adopted without amendment.

ARTICLE IV.

The 1st and 2d sections were considered and adopted without amendment.

The convention then adjourned until 3 o'clock,P.M. at which time the convention met and resumed the consideration of the said sections.

The 3d section was considered, amended, and adopted as follows:

Sec. 3. The supreme court shall consist in a chief justice and three associate justices, any two of whom shall form a quorum; the number of justices may however be increased by the general assembly after the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty four.

The 4th section was considered and adopted by filling the blank with the words "twenty-four."

The 5, 6, 7, and 8 sections were severally considered and adopted without amendment.

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ARTICLE V.

The 1, 2, 3 and 4 sections were severally considered and adopted without amendment, and the 5th section by filling the blank therein with the word "sixty."

ARTICLE VI.

The first blank in the first section was filled with the words "twenty-one," and the second blank was filled with the word "eighteen." On the motion of Mr. Hubbard the further consideration of this section was postponed until the second reading of the same.

ARTICLE VII.

The first section was considered and adopted by inserting the words "the whole number of members elected to" after the word "of" in the first line.

ARTICLE VIII.

The 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 sections were severally considered and adopted without amendment.

The 8th section was considered and adopted by striking out the remainder of the section after the last word "corporation."

The 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 17 and 18 sections were severally considered and adopted without amendment.

The Convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

SATURDAY, August 15, 1818.

The Convention met.

On the motion of Mr. Kitchell, the four last sections of the eighth article and the ordinance were taken up and read the first time. And on the further motion of Mr. Kitchell the convention proceeded to consider the same, section by section.

ARTICLE VIII.

The 19 and 20 sections were considered and adopted without amendment.

The 21st section was considered, amended, and adop-

ted by striking out the word 'shall' in the fourth line, and inserting the word 'may' in lieu thereof.

The 22d section was considered and adopted without amendment.

The ordinance was considered and adopted without amendment.

On motion of Mr. *Kitchell,*

Resolved, that a committee of five be appointed whose duty it shall be to consider what additional articles or sections are necessary to complete the draft of the constitution and report thereon.

Ordered, that Messrs. Kitchell, Hubbard, Borough, Fisher and Messinger, be that committee.

The convention then adjourned until 2 o'clock,p.m. at which time the convention again met.

Mr. Hubbard from the committee appointed to consider what additional articles or sections are necessary to complete the draft of the constitution, made their report in part as follows: That they deem it expedient for the apportionment in the different counties in the state of Illinois for the members in the general assembly be now made and adopted, and the earliest steps be taken to fix the times of the several elections and the time of the meeting of the said general assembly to be made public in order that the delegation from this state, may have time to meet the next congress of the United States; and recommend the following apportionment, viz.

Until the first enumeration shall be made as directed by the constitution, the county of Madison shall be entitled to one senator and three representatives; the county of Bond, one senator and one representative; the county of Washington, one senator and one representative; the county of St. Clair, one senator and three representatives; the county of Monroe, one senator and one representative; the county of Randolph, one senator and two representatives; the counties of Jackson and Johnson to compose one senatorial district, and to have one senator to said counties and one representative each; the

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county of Union, one senator and two representatives; the county of Pope, one senator and two representatives; the county of Franklin, one senator and one representative; the county of Gallatin, one senator and three representatives; the county of White, one senator and three representatives; the county of Edwards, one senator and two representatives; the county of Crawford, one senator and two representatives; and that the said elections may be held on the days prescribed by the laws of the territory of Illinois.

The said committee having prepared no other report, beg leave to sit again and report on Monday next to this convention.

Which said report was received, read and concurred in by the convention.

The Convention then adjourned until next Monday morning 9 o'clock.

MONDAY, August 17, 1818.

The Convention met.

On the motion of Mr. Kitchell, the convention proceeded to read the draft of the constitution the second time, and to consider the same section by section.

The preamble was read, considered, amended and adopted as follows:

The people of the Illinois territory having the right of admission into the general government as a member of the union, consistent with the constitution of the United States, the ordinance of congress of 1787, and the law of congress, "approved April 18th, 1818," entitled "an act to enable the people of the Illinois territory to form a constitution and state government, and for the admission of such state into the union on an equal footing with the original states and for other purposes;" in order to establish justice, promote the welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, do by their representatives in convention ordain and establish the following constitution or form of government ,and do mutually agree with each other to form themselves into a

free and independent state, by the name of the state of Illinois. And they do hereby ratify the boundaries assigned to such state by the act of congress aforesaid, which are as follows, to-wit: Beginning at the mouth of the Wabash river, thence up the same and with the line of Indiana, to the northwest corner of said state, thence east with the line of the same state to the middle of Lake Michigan, thence north along the middle of said lake to north latitude forty-two degrees and thirty minutes, thence west to the middle of the Mississippi river, and thence down along the middle of that river to its confluence with the Ohio river, and thence up the latter river along its north western shore to the beginning.

ARTICLE I.

The first and second sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

ARTICLE II.

The first section was read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 2d section was read, considered, amended and adopted as follows:

Sec. 2. The first election for senators and representatives shall commence on the first Thursday of September next, and continue for that and the two succeeding days: and the next election shall be held on the first Monday in August, one thousand eight hundred and twenty, and forever after, elections shall be held once in two years on the first Monday of August in each and every county, at such places therein as may be provided for by law.

The 3d and 4th sections were read, considered, amended and adopted as follows:

Sec. 3. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-one years, and be a citizen of the United States and an inhabitant of this state; shall also have resided within the limits of the county or district in which he shall be chosen twelve months next preceding his election, if such county or district shall have been so long erected, but if not, then within the limits of

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the county or counties, district or districts out of which the same shall have been taken, unless he shall have been absent on the public business of the United States, or of this state.

Sec. 4. The senators at their first session herein provided for shall be divided by lot from their respective counties or districts as near as can be into two classes: the seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, and of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, so that one half thereof as near as possible may be biennially chosen forever thereafter.

The 5th section was read, considered, amended and adopted by striking out the word "free" before the word "white".

The 6th section was read, considered, amended and adopted as follows:

Sec. 6. No person shall be a senator who has not arrived at the age of twenty-five years, and is a citizen of the United States, and shall have resided two years in the county or district immediately preceding the election, if such county or district shall have been so long erected, but if not, then within the limits of the county or counties, district or districts out of which the same shall have been taken, unless he shall have been absent on the public business of the United States or of this state, and shall moreover have paid a state or county tax.

The 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 18th section was read, considered, amended and adopted as follows:

Sec. 18. The legislature of this state shall not allow the following officers of government greater or smaller annual salaries than as follows, until the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four; the governor not more than twelve hundred and fifty dollars; the secretary of state not more than six hundred dollars; the members of the legislature not more than three dollars per day du-

ring their attendance on the legislature, nor more than three dollars for every twenty miles they shall travel in going to and returning from the general assembly.

The 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 24th section was read, considered, amended and adopted as follows:

Sec. 24. The first session of the general assembly shall commence on the first Monday of October next, and forever after, the general assembly shall meet on the first Monday in December next ensuing the election of the members thereof, and at no other period unless as provided for by this constitution.

The 25th section was read, considered, amended and adopted by inserting the word "postmasters" after the word "militia."

The 26, 27, 28, 29, 30 and 31 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 32d section was read, considered, amended and adopted by striking out the words 'twenty-five' in the first line, and inserting the word 'twenty' in lieu thereof, and by striking out the word 'free' before the word 'white.'

The 33 and 34 sections were severally read, considered, and adopted without amendment.

ARTICLE III.

The 1 and 2 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 3d section was read, considered, amended and adopted by striking out the word 'ten', and inserting the word 'thirty,' and inserting the word 'two' in the last blank.

The 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The convention then adjourned until 3 o'clock p.m. at which time the convention again met, and resumed the reading and consideration of the said draft of the constitution.

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The 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 15th section was read, considered, amended and adopted as follows:

Sec. 15. The governor for the time being and the judges of the supreme court, or a major part of them, together with the governor, shall be and hereby are constituted a council to revise all bills about to be passed into laws by the general assembly; and for that purpose shall assemble themselves from time to time when the general assembly shall be convened; for which nevertheless they shall not receive any salary or consideration under any pretense whatever; And all bills which have passed the senate and house of representatives, shall before they become laws be presented to the said council for their revisal and consideration, and if upon such revisal and consideration, it should appear improper to the said council or a majority of them that the bill should become a law of this state, they shall return the same together with their objections thereto in writing to the senate, or house of representatives, (in which soever the same shall have originated) who shall enter the objections set down by the council at large in their minutes and proceed to reconsider the said bill. But after such reconsideration, the said senate or house of representatives shall notwithstanding the said objections agree to pass the same, it shall together with the objections be sent to the other branch of the general assembly where it shall also be reconsidered, and if approved by a majority of all the members elected, it shall be a law. If any bill shall not be returned within ten days after it shall have been presented, the same shall be a law, unless the general assembly shall, by their adjournment render a return of the said bill in ten days impracticable, in which case the bill shall be returned on the first day of the meeting of the general assembly after the expiration of the said ten days.

The 16th section was read, considered and adopted without amendment.

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ARTICLE IV.

The 1, 2, 3 and 4 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 5th section was read, considered, amended and adopted by striking out the words 'three-fourths' in the fifth line, and inserting the words 'two-thirds' in lieu thereof, and filling the first blank with the words 'twelve hundred and fifty.'

The 6 and 7 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 8th section was read, and on the motion of Mr. Kitchell, the consideration thereof was postponed until the third reading.

ARTICLE V.

The 1st section was read, considered, amended and adopted by inserting the word 'the' after the word 'laws' in the fifth line.

The 2, 3, and 4 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 5th section was read, considered, amended and adopted by striking out the word 'shall' in the second line and inserting the word 'may' in lieu thereof.

The Convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

TUESDAY, August 18, 1818.

The Convention met.

On motion of Mr. Kitchell the apportionment of senators and representatives among the several counties as reported by the committee appointed to consider what additional articles or sections are necessary to complete the draft of the constitution was taken up and read, amended and concurred in.

On the motion of Mr. Kitchell the rule of the convention was dispensed with, and the said apportionment was taken up and read the third time and passed as follows:

Until the first enumeration shall be made as directed

by this constitution, the county of Madison shall be entitled to one senator and three representatives; the county of St. Clair, one senator and three representatives; the county of Bond, one senator and one representative; the county of Washington, one senator and one representative; the county of Monroe, one senator and one representative; the county of Randolph, one senator and two representatives; the county of Jackson, one senator and one representative; the counties of Johnson and Franklin to form one senatorial district, and to have one senator, and to each county one representative; the county of Union, one senator and two representatives; the county of Pope, one senator and two representatives; the county of Gallatin, one senator and three representatives; the county of White, one senator and three representatives; the county of Edwards, one senator and two representatives; and the county of Crawford, one senator and two representatives. And that the said elections may be held on the days prescribed by the laws of the territory of Illinois.

On the motion of Mr. Gard, the convention proceeded in the second reading of the draft of the constitution, and considering the same section by section, commencing with the sixth article.

ARTICLE VI.

The 1st section was read, considered and amended as follows:

Sec. 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall hereafter be introduced into this state, ortherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; nor shall any male person arrived at the age of twenty-one years nor female person arrived at the age of eighteen years, be held to serve any person as a servant under any indenture hereafter made, unless such person shall enter into such indenture while in a state of perfect freedom, and on condition of a bona fide consideration received or to be received for their service, except as before excepted. Nor shall any indenture of any negro or mulatto, hereafter made and executed out of this

state, or if made in the state, where the term of service exceeds one year, be of the least validity, except those given in case of apprenticeships.

Sec. 2. Nor shall any person bound to labor in any other state, be hired to labor in this state, except within the tract reserved for the salt works near Shawaneetown, nor even at that place for a longer period than one year at one time; nor shall it be allowed there, after the year any violation of this article, shall effect the emancipation of such person from his obligation to service.

On the question being put on agreeing to the first section of the said amendment, and the yeas and nays being called for, were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Borough, Cairns, Cullom, Fisher, Hall, Harrison, Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kitchell, Messinger, Morse, Omelveny, Prickett, Stephenson, Will and White 17.

Nays—Messrs. Bankson, Compton, Echols, Ferguson, Gard, Hargrave, Kirkpatrick, Lemen, M'Fatridge, M'-Henry, Moore, Roberts, West and Whiteaker—14—So the said amendment was adopted. And the second section as amended was also adopted.

The convention then adjourned until 3 o'clock p.m. at which time the convention again met, and resumed the reading and consideration of the said draft of the constitution, and considering the same section by section.

The 7th article was read, considered and adopted without amendment.

ARTICLE VIII.

The 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 8th section was read, considered, amended and adopted by adding the following words at the end thereof, viz. "And the said commons shall not be leased, sold or divided, under any pretense whatever, provided however, that nothing in this section shall be so construed as to effect the commons of Cahokia or Prairie Dupont."

The 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

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The 15th section was read, considered, amended and adopted as follows:

Sec. 15. No person shall be imprisoned for debt after delivering up his estate for the benefit of his creditors, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law, unless in cases where there is a strong presumption of fraud.

The 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

Mr. Hubbard, from the committee appointed to consider what additional articles or sections are necessary to complete the draft of the constitution, reported a schedule containing 16 sections, which report was handed in at the secretary's table.

On the motion of Mr. Moore, the said schedule was taken up, read the first time, and considered section by section.

SCHEDULE.

The 1 and 2 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 3d section was read, and on the motion of Mr. White, stricken out.

The 4, 5, and 6 sections were read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 7th section was read and considered, and on the motion of Mr. Gard, the whole thereof was striken out.

The 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

On the motion of Mr. Kane, it was considered and agreed that the 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15 sections of the schedule be incorporated in the third article of the draft of the constitution, between the 12th and 13th sections.

On the motion of Mr. Kane, the adoption of the 13th and 14th sections of the 3d article was reconsidered, and on the further motion of Mr. Kane, the said 13th section was amended by striking out the words "speaker of the senate," and inserting the words "lieutenant-governor," in lieu thereof, and the 14th section stricken out entirely.

Mr. Hubbard from the committee appointed to consider what additional articles or sections are necessary to

complete the draft of the constitution, laid before the convention a separate report relative to a permanent seat of government, accompanied with sundry propositions in writing, offering donations to the state of land & c. from the proprietors of Pope's bluff, Hill's ferry, and Covington, which he read and handed in at the secretary's table.

The convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, August 19, 1818.

The Convention met.

Mr. Prickett moved to reconsider the vote on the passage of the apportionment of representation among the several counties as made on yesterday, which motion was decided in the negative.

Mr. Cairns moved to reconsider the vote given on yesterday in favor of striking out the third section of the schedule, which said motion was decided in the negative.

On the motion of Mr. Gard, the preamble, and the 1st, 2d, and 3d articles of the draft of the constitution as amended and adopted was ordered to be engrossed and read the third time to-day.

Mr. Kane moved to reconsider the vote given on the adoption of the second and third sections of the third article, which motion was decided in the affirmative, and the same were taken up and read, reconsidered, amended and adopted as follows :

Sec. 2. The first election for governor shall commence on the first Thursday of September next and continue for that and the two succeeding days, and the next election shall be held on the first Monday of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty two, and forever after, elections for governor shall be held once in four years on the first Monday of August. The governor shall be chosen by the electors of the members of the general assembly, at the same place and in the same manner that they shall respectively vote for members thereof. The returns for every election of governor shall be sealed up and transmitted to the seat of government

by the returning officers, directed to the speaker of the senate who shall open and publish them in the presence of a majority of the members of each house of the general assembly. The person having the highest number of votes shall be governor, but if two or more shall be equal and highest in votes, then one of them shall be chosen governor by joint ballot of both houses of the general assembly. Contested elections shall be determined by both houses of the general assembly in such manner as shall be prescribed by law.

Sec. 3. The first governor shall hold his office until the first Monday of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, and until another governor shall be elected and qualified to office; and forever after the governor shall hold his office for the term of four years and until another governor shall be elected and qualified, but he shall not be eligible more than four years in any term of eight years. He shall be at least thirty years of age, and have been a citizen of the United States thirty years, two years of which he shall have resided within the limits of this state next preceding his election.

On the motion of Mr. Hargrave, the convention proceeded to reconsider the vote on the adoption of the 26th and 33th sections of the third article of the draft of the constitution, and the same being taken up and read and reconsidered, they were, on the motion of Mr. Hargrave, severally stricken out.

On the motion of Mr. Kane, the convention proceeded to reconsider the vote on the adoption of the sixth section of the third article of the draft of the constitution, and the same being taken up and read and reconsidered, the same was amended by striking out the word "two" and inserting the word "one" in lieu thereof, before the words years, and striking out the letter "s" in the word "years."

The convention then adjourned until 3 o'clock p.m. at which time the convention again met.

On the motion of Mr. Moore, the convention proceed-

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ed to the third reading of the preamble and first and second articles of the draft of the constitution as amended and engrossed, and considering the same, section by section.

The preamble was read, considered and passed without amendment.

The whole of the first article was read, section by section, considered and passed without amendment.

ARTICLE II.

The 1st and 2d sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 3d section was read, considered and amended on the motion of Mr. Cairns, and passed by adding the words "and moreover shall have paid a state or county tax" at the end thereof.

The 4th section was read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 5th section was read, considered and amended on the motion of Mr. Kane, by striking out the word legislature" and inserting the words "general assembly" in lieu thereof.

The 6th section was read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 7th section was read, considered and amended on the motion of Mr. Kane, and passed by inserting the words "the speaker of the senate excepted" after the word "officers."

The 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16 and 17 sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 18th section was read, considered and amended on the motion of messrs. Kane and Messinger, and passed as follows:

Sec. 18. The general assembly of this state shall not allow the following officers of government greater or smaller annual salaries than as follows, until the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four ; the governor,

twelve hundred and fifty dollars; the secretary of state, six hundred dollars.

The 19th and 20th sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 21st section was read, considered and amended on the motion of mr. Kane, and passed by striking out the word "legislature" and inserting the words "general assembly" in lieu thereof.

The 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 and 27 sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 28th section was read, considered and amended on the motion of mr. Kane, and passed by striking out the last word 'legislature' and inserting the words 'general assembly' in lieu thereof.

The 29th section was read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 30th section was read, considered and amended on the motion of mr. Kane, and passed by striking out the word 'legislature' and inserting the words 'general assembly" in lieu thereof.

The 31 and 32 sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

On the motion of Mr. Messinger, the convention proceeded to the third reading of the first seven sections of the third article of the draft of the constitution as amended and engrossed, and considering the same, section by section.

ARTICLE III.

The 1st section was read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 2 section was read, considered and amended, on the motion of Mr. Kane, and passed by striking out the word 'senate' and inserting the words 'house of representatives' in lieu thereof.

The 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

Mr. White offered the following as a new section to be section two, of the sixth article of the constitution, to-wit:

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Sec. 2. Each and every person who has been bound to service by contract or indenture, in virture of the laws of the Illinois territory, heretofore existing, and in conformity with the provisions of the same, without fraud or collusion, shall be held to a specific performance of their contracts or indentures; and such negroes and mulattoes as have been registered in conformity with the aforesaid laws, shall serve out the time appointed by said laws:—Provided however, that the descendants of such persons, negroes and mulattoes, shall become free at the age of twenty-five years.

Which said new section was read, and on the question being put on adopting the same, the yeas and nays were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs, Ferguson, Fisher, Hall, Hargrave, Harrison, Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kitchell, M'Henry, Messinger, Morse, Omelvany, Roberts, Stephenson, Will, and White—17.

Nays—Messrs. Bankson, Borough, Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Echols, Gard, Kirkpatrick, Lemon, M'Fatridge, Moore, Prickett, West and Whiteaker—14.

So the said section was adopted.

Mr. Prickett moved to reconsider the vote on the adoption of the sixth article of the draft of the constitution; which said motion was determined in the negative.

The convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

THURSDAY, August 20, 1818.

The convention met.

On the motion of Mr. *Kitchell,*

Resolved, that it is expedient at this time to remove the seat of government from the town of Kaskaskia.

The following resolutions were then severally offered, to-wit: By mr. Gard,

Resolved, That this convention appoint five commissioners to view the sites on the Kaskaskia river, above the base line, and report the most suitable place for the seat of government, with the donations proposed by the

several proprietors of said sites to the next general assembly, whose duty it shall be to fix the seat of government for the state of Illinois, on one of the sites so reported, at their first session aforesaid.

By mr. Bankson,

Resolved, That the seat of government be located at the town of Covington, and that the propositions of the proprietors of the said town of Covington, be accepted.

By mr. Kane,

Resolved, That the seat of government be located at the town of Kaskaskia five years.

By mr. White,

Resolved, That the seat of government be located at Kaskaskia for five years next after the first Monday of October next, and be then removed to Pope's Bluff, on the Kaskaskia river, in range one west, township four north, and section fifteen; and that the propositions of the proprietor be acceded to.

By mr. Prickett,

Resolved, That the seat of government for the state of Illinois, be fixed at the place known by the name of Hill's Ferry, now called Fredonia;and that the propositions made to this convention by the proprietors thereof, be accepted by this convention on behalf of the state; and that the legislature of this state at their next session provide by law for the appropriation of such money and the erection of public buildings.

By mr. Kane,

Resolved, That the seat of government be located for four years at the town of Kaskaskia, after which time, the general assembly shall have power to remove the same.

By mr. Hubbard,

Resolved, That there be five commissioners appointed by this convention, whose duty it shall be to examine the geographical situation of the state, taking into view the population thereof, and the eligibility of the most prominent, and as they may conceive the most convenient places and report the same to the next session of the gene-

ral assembly, who may either reject the whole or select some one from among the places reported, for the seat of government for this state.

Which said resolutions were severally read and considered, and on the question being severally put, they were severally decided in the negative.

On the motion of mr. Lemen, the further consideration of the question for fixing a seat of government, was postponed.

On the motion of mr. *Messinger,*

Resolved, That a committee of three be appointed, whose duty it shall be to contract for the printing of five hundred copies of the constitution.

Ordered, That messrs. Messinger, Whiteaker and Hargrave, be that committee.

On the motion of Mr. Kitchell the convention proceeded to have the 3d article of the draft of the constitution from the eighth section as the same was amended and engrossed read the third time and considered section by section.

The 8, 9, and 10 sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 11th section was read, considered, amended and passed by striking out the words "no sheriff shall be eligible to office for a longer time than four years in any term of six years," and by inserting the word 'general' before the word 'assembly' in the third line.

The 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

On the motion of Mr. Kitchell, the convention proceeded to the third reading of the fourth, fifth, sixth and seventh articles of the draft of the constitution as amended and engrossed, and considering the same section by section.

ARTICLE IV.

The 1, 2, 3, and 4 sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

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The 5th section was read and considered. Mr. Moore moved to strike out the words 'twelve hundred and fifty' and insert the words 'one thousand' in lieu thereof: and on the question being put on agreeing to said amendment and the yeas and nays being called for, were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Bankson, Borough, Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Echols, Gard, Hall, Harrison, Jones, Kirkpatrick, Kitchell, Lemen, M'Fatridge, Moore, West and Whiteaker—17.

Nays—Messrs. Ferguson, Fisher, Hargrave, Hubbard, Kane, M'Henry, Messinger, Morse, Omelveny, Prickett, Roberts, Stephenson, Will and White.—14.

So the said amendment was adopted, and the said section as amended was passed.

The 6 and 7 sections was read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 8th section was read and considered, and on the motion of Mr. Borough the whole thereof was stricken out, and sundry substitutes were offered and rejected.

On the motion of Mr. Kitchell, the vote on Mr. Borough's motion was reconsidered and the said eighth section was adopted: and on the question being put on the passage thereof, it was decided in the negative.

Mr. Kitchell then offered the following as a substitute for the said eighth section, which was adopted and passed.

Sec. 8. A competent number of justices of the peace shall be elected in each county at such times and such places as the general assembly may direct, whose time of service, power and duties shall be regulated and defined by law; and justices of the peace when elected shall be commissioned by the governor.

ARTICLE V.

The 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

Mr. Cairns offered the following as a new and additional section which was read, considered, adopted and passed as follows:

Sec. 6. The militia shall in all cases, except treason

felony or breach of the peace be privileged from arrest during their attendance at musters and elections of officers, and in going to and returning from the same.

The convention then adjourned until 3 o'clock p.m. at which time the convention again met, and resumed the reading and consideration of the sixth and seventh articles of the draft of the constitution.

ARTICLE VI.

The 1st section was read, considered, amended and passed by striking out the words 'except as before excepted.'

The 2d section was read and considered. Mr. Gard moved to strike out the whole section ; and on the question being put thereon, and the yeas and nays being called for, they were as follows:

Yeas—Messrs. Borough, Cairns, Compton, Echols, Gard, Lemen, M'Fatridge, Prickett, West and Whiteaker.—10.

Nays—Messrs. Bankson, Cullom, Ferguson, Fisher, Hall, Hargrave, Harrison, Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, Kitchell, M'Henry, Messinger, Moore, Morse, Omelveny, Roberts, Stephenson, Will and White.—21.

So the said motion was rejected. The blank in the said section was then filled, on the motion of Mr. Kitchell, with the words 'one thousand eight hundred and twenty-five,' and the section as amended was passed.

The 3d section was read, considered and amended on the motion of mr. Messinger, and passed as follows:

Sec. 3. Each and every person who has been bound to service by contract or indenture, in virtue of the laws of the Illinois territory heretofore existing, and in conformity with the provisions of the same, without fraud or collusion, shall be held to a specific performance of their contracts or indentures, and such negroes, and mulattoes as have been registered in conformity with the aforesaid laws shall serve out the time appointed by said laws: Provided, however, that the children hereafter born of such persons, negroes and mulattoes, shall become free; the

males at the age of twenty-one years, the females at the age of eighteen years. Each and every child born of indentured parents shall be entered with the clerk of the county in which they reside, by their owners within six months after the birth of said child.

ARTICLE VII.

The 1st section was read, considered and passed without amendment.

Mr. Cairns offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That it shall be the duty of the general assembly to pass such laws as may be necessary and proper to decide differences by arbitrators, to be appointed by the parties who may choose that summary mode of adjustment. Which said resolution was determined in the negative.

On the motion of mr. Messinger, the convention proceeded to the third reading of the eighth article of the draft of the constitution as amended and engrossed, considering the same section by section.

The 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 8th section was read, considered and amended on the motion of mr. Lemen, and passed by adding the following thereto: 'Provided also that the general assembly shall have power and authority to grant the same privileges to the inhabitants of the said villages of Cahokia and Prairie Dupont, that are hereby granted to the inhabitants of other towns, hamlets and villages.'

The 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14 sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 15th section was read, considered and amended on the motion of mr. Kane, and passed as follows:

Sec. 15. No person shall be imprisoned for debt unless upon refusal to deliver up his estate for the benefit of his creditors, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law, or in cases where there is strong presumption of fraud.

The 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21 and 22 sections were sev-

erally read, considered and passed without amendment.

Mr. Roberts offered the following as new and additional sections to the eighth article, which were severally read, considered, adopted and passed, as follows:

Sec. 23. That Printing Presses shall be free to every person who undertakes to examine the proceedings of the legislature, or any branch of government, and no law shall ever be made to restrain the right thereof. The free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man, and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty.

Sec. 24. In prosecutions for the publication of papers investigating the official conduct of officers, or men acting in a public capacity, or where the matter published is proper for public information, the truth thereof may be given in evidence. And in all indictments for libels, the jury shall have a right to determine the law and the facts under the direction of the court as in other cases.

Mr. Kane offered the following, as new and additional sections, to be sections twenty-one and twenty-two of the third article of the constitution, which were read, considered and the twenty-second section amended, on the motion of mr. Gard, and passed as follows:

Sec. 21. The state treasurer and public printer or printers, for the state shall be appointed biennially by the joint vote of both branches of the general assembly, provided that during the recess of the same, the governor shall have power to fill vacancies which may happen in either of the said offices.

Sec. 22. The governor shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the senate, appoint all officers, whose offices are established by this constitution, or shall be established by law, and whose appointments are not otherwise herein provided for: Provided however, that inspectors, collectors and their deputies, surveyors of the highways, constables, jailors, and such other inferior officers whose jurisdiction may be confined within the limits

of the county, shall be appointed in such manner as the general assembly shall prescribe.

The convention then proceeded to the third reading of the ordinance to be attached to the constitution, and the same being taken up and read, and being considered, was unanimously passed.

Mr. Cairns offered the following resolution, the substance of which, to be a section in the Schedule:

Resolved, That it shall be the duty of the general assembly to enact such laws as may be necessary and proper to prevent the practice of dueling.

Which said resolution was read, considered and adopted.

Mr. Morse offered the following resolution, the substance of which, to be a section in the Schedule:

Resolved, That no new county shall be established by the general assembly which shall reduce the county or counties or either of them from which it shall be taken, to less contents than six hundred and twenty-five square miles, nor shall any county be laid off of less contents. Every new county, as to the right of suffrage and representation, shall be considered as a part of the county or counties from which it was taken, until entitled by numbers to the right of representation.

Which said resolution being read and considered, was determined in the negative.

Mr. Ferguson moved to reconsider the vote taken on the passage of the second section of the second article, and the question being put on the said motion, and the years and nays being called for, was as follows:

Yeas—messrs. Ferguson, Messinger, Moore, Morse, Omelveny, Prickett, Stephenson, Will and White—9.

Nays—messrs. Bankson, Borough, Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Echols, Fisher, Gard, Hall, Hargrave, Harrison, Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, Lemen, M'Fatridge, M'Henry, Roberts, West and Whiteaker—21.

So the said motion was rejected.

The convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning 8 o'clock.

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FRIDAY, August 21, 1818.

The convention met.

On the motion of mr. *Kane,*

Resolved, That a committee of enrolments be appointed to be composed of three members of this convention.

Ordered, That messrs. Kane, Stephenson and Cullom be that committee.

On the motion of mr. Moore, the convention proceeded to the second reading of the schedule, as amended and engrossed, and considering the same section by section.

The 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 sections were severally read, considered and adopted without amendment.

The 9th section was read, considered, amended and adopted by inserting the words 'lieutenant governor' after the word 'governor.'

The 10th section read, considered, amended and adopted as follows:

Sec. 10. An auditor of public accounts, and an attorney general and such other officers as may be necessary may be appointed by the general assembly, whose duties may be regulated by law.

The 11th section was read, considered and adopted without amendment.

Ordered, that the schedule as amended be engrossed and read a third time.

On the motion of mr. *Echols,*

Resolved that Henry S. Dodge, esq. be requested to assist the secretary in enrolling the different articles of the constitution.

Mr. Lemen moved to reconsider the vote taken on the passage of the 11th section of the second article of the draft of the constitution, which motion was decided in the negative.

Mr. Morse moved to reconsider the vote taken on the passage of the 18th section of the second article of the draft of the constitution; and on the question being put the yeas and nays being called for, were as follows:

Yeas—messrs. Bankson, Borough, Echols, Harrison, Kitchell, Lemen, Messinger, Moore, Morse, Prickett,

Roberts, Stephenson, West, Whiteaker and White—15.

Nays—messrs. Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Ferguson, Fisher, Gard, Hall, Hargrave, Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, M'Fatridge, M'Henry, Omelveny and Will 16.—The president voting in the affirmative, the convention was equally divided, so the motion was lost.

Mr. Kitchell moved to reconsider the vote taken on the passage of the fifth section of the fourth article of the draft of the constitution; which said motion was decided in the negative.

The convention then adjourned until 2 o'clock p.m. at which time the convention again met.

On the motion of mr. *Borough,*

Resolved, That all free white males twenty-one years of age and upwards who are actually residing in the state at the time of the first election, shall be equally entitled to suffrage with those who have been in the territory six months, provided however, that nothing herein shall be so construed as to extend any further than the first election under the direction of this constitution.

Mr. Gard offered the following resolution :

Resolved, that the seat of government for the state remain at Kaskaskia until it is further provided for by the general assembly of this state. And it shall be the duty of the general assembly at their first session to petition congress for the right of pre-emption of four sections of land on the Kaskaskia river as near as may be, east of the third principal meridian on said river, to be selected by five commissioners. If the grant should be made, it shall be the duty of the aforesaid assembly, at their next session after the grant is made, to lay out a town, which shall be the permanent seat of government for the state of Illinois, but if the grant should not be made by congress, in that case it shall be the duty of the general assembly to fix on some other place, that they shall think best for that seat.

On the question being put on the adoption of the said resolution, the yeas and nays were called for, and were as follows:

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Yeas—Messrs. Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Echols, Ferguson, Fisher, Gard, Harrison, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, Kitchell, Lemen, M'Fatridge, Moore, Omelveny, West and Whiteaker—18.

Nays—Messrs. Bankson, Borough, Hall, Hargrave, Hubbard, M'Henry, Messinger, Morse, Prickett, Roberts, Stephenson, Will and White—13.—So the said resolution was adopted.

On the motion of Mr. Kitchell, the rules for the government of the convention was dispensed with, and the convention proceeded to the third reading of the schedule of the draft of the constitution, and considering the same, section by section.

The 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 sections were severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

The 9th section was read, considered, amended and passed by filling the blank therein with the words "on the first Thursday in September next and the two succeeding days."

The 10th and 11th sections were then severally read, considered and passed without amendment.

Mr. Messinger from the committee appointed to contract for printing five hundred copies of the constitution, reported as follows:

"To the Committee on public printing:

GENTLEMEN--We propose to print for the state five hundred copies of the constitution of the state of Illinois upon the same terms, that the journals are to be printed on, viz.

For composition, per page.....$1
paper, per ream, ... 6
press work, per token (10 qrs.)..... 1
folding and stitching, per copy,..... 06

We are gentlemen, your most obedient servants,

BLACKWELL AND BERRY,

Kaskaskia, August 20, 1818."

The committee appointed to contract for printing five

hundred copies of the constitution, having examined the above proposals of messrs. Blackwell and Berry, accept the above proposals and report the same for the concurrence of the convention.

Which said proposals and report being read, was concurred in by the convention.

On the motion of mr. Kitchell, the select committee to whom was refered the petitions of sundry inhabitants of Randolph county were discharged from the further consideration thereof.

Mr. Fisher from the committee appointed to contract for stationary for the use of the convention, reported that they have purchased as follows:

From H. H. Maxwell, 12 yds. of baze at $2 pr. y.	24
From W. Morrison, 1 ream and 6 quires paper,	10
	$ 34,00

Which said report was read and concurred in by the convention.

The Convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning 9 o'clock.

SATURDAY, August 22, 1818.

The Convention met.

The president laid before the convention the petition of William Thompson and others, praying that the moral law shall be taken as the foundation of the constitution, and the scriptures declared to be the word of God, the supreme rule of faith and practice.

On the motion of mr. *Cullom,*

Ordered, that the said petition be laid on the table until the fourth day of March next.

The resolution offered by mr. Gard on yesterday and adopted for fixing the permanent seat of government was read the second time.

The resolution offered yesterday by mr. Borough and adopted for extending the right of suffrage was taken up and read the second time; and on the question being put

on adopting the same, the yeas and nays being called for, were as follows:

Yeas—messrs. Borough, Prickett and Stephenson—3

Nays—messrs. Bankson, Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Echols, Ferguson, Fisher, Gard, Hall, Hargrave, Harrison, Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, Kitchell, Lemen M'Fatridge, M'Henry, Messinger, Moore, Morse, Omelveny, Roberts, West, Will, Whiteaker and White, 28.—So the said resolution was rejected.

On the motion of mr. *Kitchell,*

Resolved, that a committee of revision to consist of three be appointed whose duty it shall be to examine the draft of the constitution as amended and passed, and make report to this convention on next Monday morning at 9 o'clock.

Ordered, that messrs. Lemen, Omelveny and Kane be that committee.

The convention then adjourned until 3 o'clock,p.m. at which time the convention again met.

On the motion of mr. Hubbard, the convention agreed to reconsider the vote given on the passage of the second section of the second article of the draft of the constitution as amended. Mr. Prickett moved to strike out the word "first" before the word "Thursday" and to insert the word "fourth" in lieu thereof; on the question being put thereon, the yeas and nays were called for, and were as follows:

Yeas—messrs. Ferguson, Messinger, Morse, Omelveny, Prickett, Roberts, Stephenson, West and White—9.

Nays—messrs. Bankson, Borough, Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Echols, Fisher, Gard, Hall, Hargrave, Harrison Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, Kitchell, Lemen, M'Fatridge, M'Henry, Moore, Will and Whiteaker—22.

So the said motion of mr. Prickett, was rejected.

Mr. Ferguson moved to strike out the word 'first' before the word 'Thursday,' and insert the word 'third' in lieu thereof; and on the question being put thereon, the yeas and nays being called for, were as follows

Yeas—messrs. Bankson, Borough, Cairns, Compton,

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Cullom, Echols, Ferguson, Fisher, Gard, Hargrave, Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, Kitchell, Lemen, M' Fatridge, M'Henry, Messinger, Moore, Morse, Omelveny, Prickett, Roberts, Stephenson. West, Will, Whiteaker and White—29.

Nays—messrs. Hall and Harrison—2.

So the said amendment was adopted; and the said section as amended was passed.

On the motion of mr. Kane, the convention agreed to reconsider the vote given on the passage of the second section of the third article of the draft of the constitution as amended; Mr. Kane moved to strike out the word 'first' before the word 'Thursday,' and insert the word 'third' in lieu thereof, which motion was decided in the affirmative, and the said section so amended was passed.

On the motion of mr. Kane, the convention agreed to reconsider the vote given on the passage of the eleventh section of the third article of the draft of the constitution as amended. Mr. Kane moved to insert the words 'at the same times and' after the word 'elected' in the third line, which said motion was decided in the affirmative; and the said section so amended was adopted and passed.

On the motion of mr. Messinger, the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and part of the 8th articles of the draft of the constitution, as amended and enroled was read over.

The Convention then adjourned until next Monday morning 9 o'clock.

MONDAY, August 24, 1818.

The Convention met.

Mr. Borough offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That all white male inhabitants above the age of twenty-one years, who shall be actual residents of this state at the signing of this constitution, shall have a right to vote at the election to be held on the third Thursday and the two following days of Sepember next.

On the question being put on adopting the said resolution, the yeas and nays were called for, and were as follows :

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Yeas—messrs. Bankson, Borough, Cullom, Ferguson, Hargrave, Harrison, Hubbard, Kitchell, Lemen, M'Henry, Messinger, Morse, Omelveny, Prickett, Roberts, Stephenson, West and White—18.

Nays—messrs. Cairns, Compton, Echols, Fisher, Gard, Hall, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, M'Fatridge, Moore and Whiteaker—12—So the said resolution was adopted.

Mr. Kane from the committee appointed to revise and examine the draft of the constitution, reported that the committee had examined carefully the enrolment of the draft of the constitution as amended and passed, and had corrected sundry inaccuracies therein, and recommend that the twenty-second section of the eighth article be wholly expunged.

Which said report being considered and understood, the same was concurred in by the convention.

On the motion of mr. Kane, the convention agreed to reconsider the vote given on the passage of the twenty-fifth section of the second article. Mr. Kane moved to strike out the words 'become a candidate for or' in the last line, and to add the following words to the end of the section 'nor shall any person holding an office of honor or profit under the United States, hold any office of honor or profit under the authority of this state; which said motion was decided in the affirmative; the said amendment being adopted, the said section as amended was then considered and passed.

On the motion of mr. Kane, the convention reconsidered the vote given on the passage of the eighth section of the fourth article, and the same being taken up was amended, considered and passed as follows:

Sec. 8. A competent number of justices of the peace shall be appointed in each county in such manner, at such times and such places as the general assembly may direct, whose time of service, power and duty, shall be regulated and defined by law; and justices of the peace when appointed, shall be commissioned by the governor.

Mr. Messinger moved to reconsider the vote given on the passage of the fifth section of the fourth article; on

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the question being put on the said motion, the yeas and nays being called for, were as follows:

Yeas—messrs. Ferguson, Fisher, Hargrave, Hubbard, Kane, Kitchell, M'Henry, Messinger, Morse, Omelveny, Prickett, Roberts, Stephenson, Will and White—15.

Nays—messrs. Bankson, Borough, Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Echols, Gard, Hall, Harrison, Jones, Kirkpatrick, Lemen, M'Fatridge, Moore, West and Whiteaker, 16—The President refusing to vote in the affirmative, the said motion was rejected.

Mr. Prickett moved to reconsider the vote given on the passage of the eighteenth section of the second article, and the question being put, the yeas and nays being called for, were as follows:

Yeas—messrs. Bankson, Borough, Kitchell, Lemen, M'Henry, Messinger, Moore, Morse, Omelveny, Prickett, Roberts, Stephenson, West, Will, Whiteaker and White—16.

Nays—messrs. Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Echols, Ferguson, Gard, Hall, Hargrave, Harrison, Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, and M'Fatridge—14.

So the said motion was carried.

Mr. Moore moved to strike out the words 'twelve hundred and fifty,' and insert the words 'one thousand' in lieu thereof, on the question being put, and the yeas and nays being called for, were as follows:

Yeas—messrs. Bankson, Borough, Echols, Harrison, Kitchell, Lemen, M'Henry, Messenger, Moore, Morse, Omelveny, Prickett, Roberts, Stephenson, West, Will and Whiteaker—17.

Nays—messrs. Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Ferguson, Fisher, Gard, Hall, Hargrave, Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, M'Fatridge and White—14.

So the said amendment was adopted.

Mr. Hargrave moved to strike out the words 'greater or' in the said section, which motion was decided in the negative. And the section as amended was adopted and passed.

(71)

The convention then adjourned until 2 o'clock p. m. at which time the convention again met.

On the motion of mr. Kitchell, the resolution introduced by mr. Gard to fix the seat of government was taken up and read the third time.

Mr. Gard offered the following as a substitute for the original resolution:

The seat of government for this state shall be at Kaskaskia until the general assembly shall otherwise provide. The general assembly at their first session holden under the authority of this constitution, shall petition the congress of the United States to grant this state a quantity of land, to contain not more than four nor less than one section, or to give to the state the right of preemption in the purchase of such quantity of land, the said land to be situated on the Kaskaskia river and as near as may be east of the third principal meridian on said river; should the prayer of such petition be granted, the general assembly at their next session thereafter shall provide for the appointment of five commissioners to make the selection of the said land so granted, and shall further provide for laying out a town upon the land so selected, which town so laid out shall be the permanent seat of government for this state ; should however, the prayer of said petition not be granted, the general assembly shall have power to make such provisions for a permanent seat of government as may be necessary, and shall fix the same where they may think best.

Mr. White moved to strike out all of the said substitute after the word 'provide' in the third line, and on the question being put on the said motion, the yeas and nays being called for, were as follows:

Yeas.—messrs. Bankson, Borough, Ferguson, Fisher, Hargrave, Hubbard, M'Henry, Messinger, Moore, Morse, Prickett, Roberts, Stephenson, Will and White—15.

Nays—messrs. Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Echols, Gard, Hall, Harrison, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, Kitchell, Lemen, M'Fatridge, Omelveny, West and Whiteaker, 16.

(72)

The president refusing to vote in the affirmative, the said motion was rejected.

Mr. Kane moved to strike out the word 'permanent' in the sixteenth line of the said substitute and to insert the words 'for the term of twenty years' at the end of the said line, which said motion was carried in the affirmative, and the said resolution as amended and adopted, on the question being put on the passage thereof, and the yeas and nays being called for, were as follows:

Yeas—messrs. Bankson, Borough, Cairns, Compton, Cullom, Echols, Ferguson, Fisher, Gard, Hall, Harrison, Hubbard, Jones, Kane, Kirkpatrick, Kitchell, Lemen, M'Fatridge, Messinger, Moore, Morse, Omelveny, West, Will and Whiteaker—25.

Nays—messrs. Hargrave, M'Henry, Prickett, Roberts, Stephensen and White—6.

So the said resolution was passed as amended, and the same to be a section in the schedule.

On the motion of mr. Messinger, the convention agreed to reconsider the vote given on the passage of the ninth section of the schedule, and the same being taken up and considered, mr. Messinger offered the following amendment, after the word 'counties' in the third line insert the following, 'or in case of the absence or disability of any sheriff, then the deputy sheriff, and in case of the absence or disability of the deputy sheriff, then such writ shall be directed to the coroner.'

Mr. Kane moved to strike out the word 'first' and insert the word 'third' in lieu thereof, before the word 'Thursday;' which said motions were severally decided in the affirmative, and the said section as amended was adopted and passed.

On the motion of mr. Borough, the convention dispensed with the rules thereof, and the resolution introduced to-day by mr. Borough for extending the right of suffrage was taken up and read the second and third time, and the same being considered, was adopted and passed, and the same to form a section in the schedule.

DANIEL P. COOK

By Josephine E. Burns.

Daniel Pope Cook was one of the first Illinois statesmen. His career, though short in years, was at a time when men, broad in mind and heart, were necessary. It was under the leadership of such men as he, that the state was established and nurtured during the first few years of its existence. To such men as he, the Illinois of today owes much for the firm foundation laid during the first decade, and for the greatness of the modern commonwealth.

Daniel P. Cook was not an Illinoisan by birth. He was, however, not unique in this respect, because a large number of the earlier statesmen migrated to the State from some of the older states—principally those to the south. Cook was born in Kentucky in 1794.[1] There he spent his boyhood. Frail and delicate, he was unable to take full advantage even of the meagre educational advantages offered.[2] His parents were poor, and unable to help him in securing a higher education. All the schooling he had was obtained during an irregular attendance at the common schools of the vicinity in which he lived. He had no college career,[3] yet despite his lack of opportunity, he was a student and a thinker. When comparatively young, he was sent to St. Genevieve, Missouri, where for a short time he worked in a shop.[4] His ambition, however, was not satisfied there, and soon he began the study of law under his uncle, Nathaniel Pope.[5] At the end of two years, in 1815,[6] when twenty-one years of age, he was admitted to the bar in Kaskaskia, then capital of the territory,

1 Moses, I, 294.
2 Reynolds; Pioneer History, 332.
3 Edwards; History of Illinois, 253.
4 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, No. 8, 212.
5 Moses, I, 294.
6 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, No. 8, 212.

and soon established a good practice, although in those days, few men supported themselves by their professions alone.[1] He practiced law in the courts of all the organized counties of the territory except those along the Wabash. During the few succeeding years, he occupied many positions. He was twice clerk of the Territorial Legislature, which met in Kaskaskia. In 1816, he became joint owner of the Illinois Intelligencer, published at the territorial capital. The early files of this paper are unfortunately lost.[2] It, however, probably attempted little more than notices of foreign news, and advertisements of land sales. Political editorials did not appear in Illinois newspapers until the slavery struggle of 1823-4.[3] During the same year Governor Edwards appointed him auditor of public accounts, but he served only a few months in that capacity.[4] The following year he went to Washington, D. C., where, through the influence of Senator Edwards, he obtained from President Monroe a position as bearer of messages to John Quincy Adams,[5] then minister at the court of St. James. The particular message to the minister was his summons home to become the new secretary of state. This was the beginning of the political and personal friendship which later existed between Adams and Cook, a friendship which gave Mr. Adams the presidency. In the presidential election in the House of Representatives in 1825, Mr. Cook, the single congressman from Illinois, cast the vote of the State for Mr. Adams, and thus made him president of the United States. After their return to America, Adams endeavored to gain for his friend from Monroe an appointment as secretary of the territory of Alabama. Cook's health was not good, and it was hoped that the southern climate would improve it. Monroe unfortunately having already promised the appointment to another, could not grant the request, but expressed the hope that Cook might sometime have an appointment.[6] In 1818 the appointment came, making him a federal

1 Edwards' History of Illinois, 254.
2 Ibid., 254.
3 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, No. 9, 205.
4 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, No. 9, 205.
5 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, No. 8, 212.
6 Edwards' History of Illinois, 271.

judge in the western circuit of Illinois.[1] The district contained the counties of Bond, Madison, St. Clair, Randolph and Monroe, comprising one-third of the present limits of the state. He held this office for a short time only, probably not more than a term or two; but even in those few months, he gained an enviable reputation.[2] That same year the state was organized, and under the new regime, he was elected attorney-general by the State Legislature.[3] This office he held from December, 1818, to October, 1819. During this same year he first became a candidate for representative in the national legislature.[4] At this point began his real political career. Before this his pursuits were rather scattered in nature. He had a great ambition to be and to do, but this turning of his ambition toward a single goal, brought out the best that was in him.

Before writing further of his term of congressional activity, it might be well to consider briefly the character and personality of Daniel P. Cook, for both were powerful elements in his political success. Physically he was frail and delicate, never enjoying good health. His whole career was hampered by disease. In manner he was modest and diffident, yet withal, possessed a charming ability in conversation. His voice was soft and melodious, and his speech fluent. Ford says of him:[5]

"Mr. Cook was a man of eminent talents and accomplishments. In person he was small. He was a man of great social powers, wholly without guile; and kindness, sincerity and truth animated every motion of his body, making his face to shine, and giving his manners a grace and a charm which the highest breeding will not always give. He was a complete gentleman, and in all his electioneering intercourse with the people, he had the rare talent of making himself singularly acceptable and agreeable, without stooping to anything low, or relaxing in the slightest degree, the decorum or

1 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, No. 8, 212.
2 Reynolds' History of Illinois, 332.
3 Edwards' History of Illinois, 254.
4 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, No. 8, 212.
5 Ford's History of Illinois, 73.

the carriage of a high-bred gentleman. His mind was uncommonly supple, wiry and active, and he could, as he pleased, shoot his thoughts readily over a great field of knowledge."

In his day he was undoubtedly the most popular man in the State, and well deserved the popularity. Reynolds says he was at one time the darling of his people, and that an old settler whenever his name was mentioned, would involuntarily cry out, "When is the election?"[1]

Illinois was organized as a State and admitted to the Union, in 1818. According to the constitution, a representative was to be chosen for the House of Representatives for a short term, from December, 1818, to March 3, 1819.[2] Cook became a candidate for the position. There were two parties in the State at that time, although party division lines were personal rather than political. They have been characterized by the terms, the "ins" and the "outs."[3] Generally, however, they were designated by the names of their leaders. The Edwards party, under the leadership of Ninian Edwards, included such men as Nathaniel Pope, Daniel P. Cook, Morris Birkbeck and Colonel Pierre Menard; while the Bond party, with Governor Bond as leader, included Elias Kent Kane, John McLean and Jesse B. Thomas. Another line of division arose from the slavery question. The Edwards party were known to be anti-slavery, the Bond faction pro-slavery.[4] Cook came out as the Edwards representative, John McLean of Shawneetown, the Bond representative. That first election in Illinois was hotly contested, particularly for congressman. The Missouri question was, at that time absorbing attention. Naturally it entered into the Illinois election. For the first time in Illinois history, stump-speaking was a factor in the campaign. Cook assumed the anti-slavery side of the debate, McLean the pro-slavery side. Joint debates were held between the two men. Both were young lawyers, ambitious and talented. Both were eloquent speakers. It was asserted by one who heard the Cook-McLean debates as well as the

1 Reynolds: Pioneer History of Illinois, 395.
2 Edwards' History of Illinois, 355.
3 Reynolds: My Own Life and Times, 210.
4 Edwards' History of Illinois, 152.

Lincoln-Douglas debates, that the former did not suffer by the comparison.[1] The result of the election was a compromise between the two parties. McLean won by the small majority of fourteen. The pro-slavery party also secured Bond as governor, while the Edwards party gained the office of lieutenant-governor for Colonel Pierre Menard.

Although a young man of ability and promise, and later rather a prominent man in state history, during 1818-19, McLean lost much of his popularity.[2] In the short session of Congress, he antagonized many on account of his pro-slavery sentiments. He had also succeeded in alienating almost the entire body of immigrants from eastern states, so that, with Cook as his opponent, he entered the election of 1819 handicapped.[3] This second election was also hotly contested, but this time resulted in a fair majority for Cook.[4]

That fall, Cook entered upon his real political career as practically the first representative of Illinois in the United States Congress. In that first session he was put on the committee of public lands, the committee in which he could do the greatest service for his people. It is interesting, in reading the records of that Congress, to notice the prominence the Illinoisan immediately assumed. His first speech was made December 27, 1819, upon the resolution for establishing territorial government in the District of Columbia.[5] His next speech(January 4, 1820) was on a resolution which he proposed for the immediate benefit of his district. The resolution called for the investigation of the advisability of establishing a military station in the territory between the Mississippi and Ohio. His resolution, however, was not considered.[6]

The question which that year stirred not only the Congress, but the entire fabric of government to its very foundation, was the admission of Missouri. When the bill for the admission of this State was before the House in 1819, an amend-

1 Moses: Illinois History, 294.
2 Edwards: History of Illinois, 255.
3 Edwards: History of Illinois, 256.
4 Cook received 2,192 votes; McLean 1,559, giving to the former a majority of 633.
5 Annals of Congress Vol. 35, (1819-20), 798.
6 Annals of Congress, Vol. 35, (1819-20), 856.

ment was introduced by James Tallmadge of New York, prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the State, and providing that all children born in slavery, should become free at the age of twenty-five years. The bill, with this restriction, passed the House,[1] but the restriction was taken off by the Senate, so that the Congress adjourned without decisive action. The entire country, both north and south, was aroused for the first time over the question of human slavery. John Quincy Adams, in his Memoirs, mentions Cook as a speaker in the House, in favor of the restriction.[2] The reference to the Annals of Congress for the month of February proves him to have been a prominent speaker on the subject. His speech covers several pages. It is a clear exposition of his attitude upon both slavery and constitutional principles. In one place he says:[3] "Away with your compromise. Let Missouri in, and the predominance of slave influence is settled, and the whole country will be overrun with it. Indeed, I am opposed to any compromise on the subject. I consider it my duty to aid in arresting an evil, and a duty of so high a nature as to amount to a constitutional duty, embraced within the oath I have taken to support that instrument."

When on March 1, 1819, the motion for striking out the restriction from the Missouri bill was put to the House, we find Cook's name among the "nays."[4] When, however, the compromise was inserted forbidding slavery north of the line thirty-six degrees, thirty minutes, and put to a vote, Cook voted with the "yeas."[5]

These are the important measures in which Cook took part during his first session in Congress. He returned to Illinois to another campaign. His old opponent, Mr. McLean, frightened by the preceding election, refused to make the race against such a powerful adversary. The Bond party, however, did not give up the fight, and entered Elias Kent Kane as their candidate.[6] The contest was largely personal in

1 Turner: Rise of the New West, 155,156.
2 Adams: Memoirs, IV, 518.
3 Annals of Congress, Vol. 35, (1819-20), 1111,
4 The vote stood 90 ayes to 87 nays.
5 Annals of Congress, Vol. 36, (1819-20), 1586-7.
6 Edwards: History of Illinois, 255.

character. Both men favored the admission of Missouri; Cook, because he thought admission the only expedient thing under the existing conditions. The contest was heated, but when the results of the election became known, it was found to be an overwhelming victory for Cook.[1]

Again he returned to Congress. He had experience, and profited by it. He went back, stronger, more competent to secure for his State favorable legislation. As a young politician, he was gaining an enviable reputation at the capital. John C. Calhoun, in 1821, said of him: "For Mr. Cook, I have a most genuine respect, both for his character and talent." And again in 1822: "I take much interest in Mr. Cook's election, and shall wait with great impatience to hear the result. He is honest, capable and bold—just such a man as the times require. His absence from Congress would be a serious loss."[2]

John Quincy Adams in his Memoirs on the date March 7, 1821, writes: "Cook is a man of fair mind and honorable principles, and makes a very handsome appearance in the House as a speaker. He is yet under thirty, and gives the promise of a useful and distinguished statesman; but his health is very infirm, and his constitution so feeble that its duration is more than ordinarily doubtful."[3]

Judge McLean said of him: "He stands well with all parties, and is not excelled in weight of character, talents and influence by any member from the west."[4]

So it was that when he again resumed his seat in Congress, he had the prestige which his presence the preceding session had given him. The records of this time, too, reveal him as a member by no means insignificant. Among the important measures brought up at this Congress, was the final admission of Missouri. The state had drawn up its constitution and submitted it. There was a clause, however, included, giving the legislature the power to exclude forever free negroes and mu-

1 Cook's majority was 2,482, out of less than 8,000 votes. Edwards: History of Illinois, 255.
2 Edwards: History of Illinois, 271.
3 Adams: Memoirs, V., 320.
4 Moses: History of Illinois, 342.

lattoes from the state. Although Cook had at the time of his election declared openly his intention to vote for the admission of the state, still his name is found among the "nays." That he felt himself amply justified in his change of opinion, is evident from the speech which he made in Congress on December 13, 1820. In substance he said that:

He had given his constituents to understand that he should vote for the admission of Missouri. He had given them so to understand, even previous to his re-election to a seat in the next Congress, and the result of the election had satisfied him that his vote would not be disapproved. He considered the faith of Congress pledged, by the act of the last session, to admit Missouri, provided her constitution was made in conformity to the terms of this act, and when he had said he would vote for her admission, the declaration had always been made under the belief that such would be the case. Mr. Cook then proceeded to show why he thought the constitution submitted did not conform with the constitution of the United States, and justified his vote against the admission. He based his argument upon the clause in the constitution of the United States, which gives to Congress the power "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory and other property of the United States." "This," he said, "is a general power, and in its exercise I apprehend that Congress has a right to dispose of that territory to whomsoever it pleases." He goes on to show that the declaration of Missouri, excluding all free negroes and mulattoes from the state, was in violation of the clause of the constitution of the United States, which guarantees to the citizens of each state all the privileges and immunities of the citizens of the several states. The government had already sold land to negroes and given them the rights of property. The constitution of Missouri would deprive them of this property. He refuted the argument that the state of Missouri would not come in with the same rights as the other states, by proving that the new state would have the same federal rights, and that federal rights were all that it was in the power of the government to bestow. He closed his speech as follows:[1]

[1] Annals of Congress, Vol. 37, 643-648.

"My feelings are in favor of admission. Both personal and political reasons combine to render it a desirable event; and were it consistent with my sense of the duty I owe to the country and to the constitution to give such a vote, upon the resolution under consideration, I am sure no member on this floor would do it with more pleasure. But while I consider the constitution the rock upon which our temple of liberty must stand, and having sworn to support it, I feel myself called upon to forego all such considerations, and defend it against infringement."

During this session and the following, we find Mr. Cook championing various measures. His name appears often in the records of Congress. His voice was heard upon questions of education, upon inspection of land offices, upon inspection of banks, and other measures. There was, however, in these two sessions, nothing of further great national or state importance in which he took a prominent part.

In 1821 he married Miss Julia Edwards, the eldest daughter of Senator Ninian Edwards, and thereafter the political interests of these men were closely allied.

The following summer he again entered the campaign for a seat in Congress. McLean, encouraged by the opposition aroused by Cook's Missouri vote, entered the race against him.[1] The election once more proved a success for Cook.[2] His activity in this Congress was not quite so great as it had been in preceding Congresses, yet in his way he served his State fully as well. Among the records of the debates in the sessions of 1822-3 and 1823-4, are found speeches made by him on a wide variety of topics. Notably among them was the measure for the repair of the Cumberland Road, showing him to be a Nationalist in principle, and in favor of internal improvement at the expense of the national government. His voice was also heard in the controversy for the settlement of land claims; in the debate on the resolution authorizing the president to recognize the independence of Greece; and in the tariff discussions.

1 Edwards: History of Illinois, 256.

2 The vote was 4,764 for Cook, 3,811 for McLean, a majority of 953 in favor of Cook.

From the eighteenth Congress, Cook returned to Illinois to perform a service for his State which alone entitles him to a place among the great men of the commonwealth. The contest was over slavery. In spite of the ordinance of 1787, slaves could be and were held in considerable numbers in Illinois. Efforts had been made on several occasions to legalize the institution in the State, but were of no avail.[1] When the constitution was drawn in 1818, slavery was prohibited. When, however, the code of laws was made, the treatment to be accorded blacks was made exceedingly harsh.[2] When Missouri in 1821 was admitted as a slave state, an intense pro-slavery feeling was awakened among the slave holders of Illinois. They longed for similar freedom. However, by a split in the pro-slavery party in 1822, Edward Coles, a Virginian, but intensely anti-slavery in sentiment, was elected governor. In his inaugural address, Coles recommended the emancipation of the slaves held by the French settlers, whose right to own such property had never been questioned.[3] This suggestion was a fire-brand in the powder magazine. Immediately there was an effort started for a constitutional convention, to amend that instrument so as to permit the legal holding of slaves. By foul means[4] the measure was passed by the necessary two-thirds vote of the House, and concurred in by the Senate. The matter was then before the people for decision. The call was for a constitutional convention, but every one knew that slavery was the issue. The matter was to be voted on in 1824. For the intervening eighteen months, the battle raged. Never has the State seen a more exciting campaign. Ford says that almost every stump in every county had its bellowing, indignant orator, on one side or the other.[5] Prominent and strong men were lined up on either side. It was a battle of intellects, brain against brain.[6] Governor Coles spent his entire four years' salary in the struggle.[7] The prominent

1 Moses: History of Illinois, 312.
2 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, 12, 148.
3 Wilson: Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America, 162-3.
4 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, 9, 519.
5 Ford: History of Illinois, 55.
6 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, 9, 308.
7 Reynolds: My Own Times, 242.

anti-slavery men were Governor Coles, Daniel P. Cook, Nathaniel Pope, Ninian Edwards, Morris Birkbeck, John M. Peck, Samuel D. Lockwood, and Henry Eddy. Against them were Elias Kent Kane, Jesse B. Thomas, John McLean, Governor Bond and Chief Justice Phillips. All of these men wrote editorials, and both factions had their newspapers.[1] Cook was the best orator on either side, and devoted his whole time to the combat.[2] The anti-slavery party was more energetic and better organized.[3] On August 2, 1824, the election was held. The vote stood 4,972 for the convention, and 6,640 against it, an overwhelming defeat for the pro-slavery party.[4] The people decided, however, not so much on the grounds of principle, as of expediency.[5] The strange thing about the struggle was that the anti-slavery party was led to victory by a Virginian and a Kentuckian. The interest aroused in this election is revealed by the large vote cast. The population of Illinois by the census of 1820, was 55,162; but at the election in August, 1824, the number of votes cast for and against the convention was 11,612. In the presidential election the following November, the number of votes cast dropped to 4,707.[6]

Adlai E. Stevenson, in referring to this contest, says: "Two names come down to us out of the shadowy past, that will not be permitted to perish from the memories of the living—the one a Virginian, Edward Coles; the other a Kentuckian, Daniel P. Cook. The former, the governor of Illinois; the latter its sole representative. Courageous and untiring, they stood in the forefront, the faithful advocates of a free state."[7]

During this campaign, Cook was also adding to his chances for re-election, against Governor Bond as his opponent.[8] His success in the fall election was largely due to his activity in the convention agitation.[9] During his canvass, the question

1 Davidson and Stuve: History of Illinois, 325.
2 Moses: History of Illinois, 322.
3 Davidson and Stuve: History of Illinois, 325.
4 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, 9, 521.
5 Ford: History of Illinois, 55.
6 Davidson and Stuve: History of Illinois, 325.
7 Illinois State Historical Society Publications, 8, 24.
8 Moses: History of Illinois, 322.
9 Reynolds: My Own Times, 243.

of the presidential election was often referred to.

In 1824, there were four principal candidates for the presidency of the United States, and there was a strong possibility that the election should be taken to the House of Representatives. Illinois, as a State, was divided. Cook was personally a friend of John Quincy Adams, but pledged himself to vote in Congress, if the presidential election should fall to that body "in accordance with the clearly expressed sense of a majority of those whose will I shall be called upon to express."[1] Such was the case which arose. The election went to the House, and Cook was called upon to fulfill his pre-election pledge.

Adams says in his diary that Cook told him that he was pledged to vote for Jackson "if need came." At first Adams does not seem to have expected Cook's vote, but the expectation grew.[2] When the time came for Cook to vote in "accordance with the clearly defined sense of the majority," there was a serious doubt as to what the term "majority" might mean. There were three electoral districts in the State. Two went for Jackson, one for Adams.[3] If this were the clearly expressed voice of the majority, Cook's pledge would force him to vote for Jackson. But he, instead, took the popular vote as the basis of his action. There were 4,707 votes cast for presidential elector. Of these, Adams received 1,541, Jackson 1,273, Clay 1,046, and Crawford 218. Besides these votes, clearly expressed for one or another of the candidates, one James Turney received 629 votes, as an elector. Just what role he was to play is a little difficult to say. He may have been originally a Crawford man, and if such were the case, would not effect the difference between Adams and Jackson. Professedly, however, he was for Clay and Jackson. Even if Jackson had received all of Turney's votes, he would not have had a majority. Adams, of all the clearly undisputed votes, received a plurality, and in accordance with this, Cook cast his vote in the House for Adams.[4] The vote

1 Davidson and Stuve: History of Illinois, 336.
2 Adams: Memoirs, Vol. 6, pp. 443,476.
3 Davidson and Stuve: History of Illinois, 337.
4 Edwards: History of Illinois, 261.

was very close, Adams having a majority of one only. He received the votes of thirteen states, Jackson of seven, and Crawford of four.[1] McLean, then in the Senate, wrote the following despatch, which shows something of the feeling aroused by the election:

"Senate Chamber:
Sir,— February 9, 1825.

'The votes for president are as follows: Mr. Adams, the six New England States, New York, Maryland, Ohio, Illinois, Missouri, Alabama and Kentucky. He is elected. The mail starts. I have time to write no more. Great God deliver us.

JOHN McLEAN."

The measures participated in by Cook during his last term in Congress were numerous and important. He was active in gaining the extension of the Cumberland Road through to Vandalia. He was again prominent in the settlement of land claims. The second year of this Congress, he was virtually the chairman of the ways and means committee. McLane of Delaware was the appointed chairman, but was absent almost the entire session, and the important duties of his position devolved upon Cook, whose name was second on the committee.[2]

His last term in Congress was marked by a signal victory, in securing a measure for which he had been struggling the whole course of his Congressional career—namely, a grant from Congress adequate to warrant the construction of the Illinois-Michigan canal. Soon after 1818, the canal spirit had risen in Illinois.[3] The Chicago massacre of 1812 had emphasized the need of closer communication. In Illinois, the canal was favored in the east and west, and opposed in the south. There was no north at that time. The matter was discussed by the State Legislature. In 1822, Cook took the plea to Congress. All the encouragement he received there

1 Congressional Debates, I, (1824-5), 527.

2 Edwards: History of Illinois, 267.

3 Edwards: History of Illinois, 259.

was a rather doubtful grant of a strip fifty feet wide on either side of the proposed canal. The government was in no way to assume any of the responsibility or expense of the construction. The appropriation, also, reserved from sale, the lands through which it might pass, till further direction.[1] The State was given the privilege of taking material for its construction from government land.

Governor Coles and ex-Governor Bond both espoused the cause of the canal, and enthusiasm for it grew. The Legislature of 1822-3 appointed canal commissioners, and men were employed to examine the ground, and estimate the time and money necessary for its construction. The examination, however, was superficial, and far from represented the true requirements of the case. In January, 1825, a corporation was formed, called the Illinois and Michigan Canal Association, with a capital of $1,000,000. This Association was to complete the canal in ten years, and in return was to receive payments for public lands, and all tolls for a period of fifty years, Cook opposed this measure bitterly, and finally succeeded in arousing the Legislature to repeal the charter. No stock had been sold, and the Company was easily persuaded to surrender the charter. In January, 1826, an able memorial, largely Cook's work, was forwarded to Congress. There, with Cook in the House of Representatives, and Thomas and Kane in the Senate, a suitable appropriation at last was gained on March 2, 1827.

The grant included the land on either side of the proposed canal, alternate five sections. This included a tract of 224,322 acres of land in which Chicago is situated.[2] This was given in fee simple, without reservation. The canal was to be commenced within five years, and completed in twenty-five years. Otherwise the lands were to revert to the government, and the State was to be responsible for returns of lands already sold. This was the beginning of the Illinois-Michigan canal. In an address of Cook to the people in October, 1825, he pleads for the canal:[3]

1 Davidson and Stuve: History of Illinois, 475.
2 Davidson and Stuve: History of Illinois, 475, *et seq.*
3 Edwards: History of Illinois, 173.

"This is a work in which the nation is interested, and which the general government should, therefore, aid in executing. As a ligament to bind the Union together, no work of the same magnitude can be more useful. Occupying as Illinois and Missouri do, a central position in the great semi-circle of states on the north and west, and commanding as they do, the commerce of three great rivers of the west, the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Missouri, they may well be called the keystone of the widely projected arch. From New York to Louisiana, following the frontier curve of that portion of the Union, in the event of any political commotion or attempt at separation, the influence of these states would, ere long, be sensibly felt, and would even decide the contest. And their interest will be so happily balanced by their desire for a free outlet through both the Mississippi and the Lakes, that so long as commercial advantage continues to influence the policy of the states, they must and will decide against disunion. The friends of the Union, therefore, have a strong interest in this communication."

When the election of 1826 came on, Cook was in very poor health. He was unable to carry on his campaign with the vigor which had marked his previous efforts. The Bond faction, thoroughly hopeless of success, would have let the election go by without bringing forward a candidate. McLean, Kane and Governor Bond had all been so thoroughly beaten, it seemed useless to urge a candidate against Cook. It was very much to the surprise of every one, when Joseph Duncan had the temerity to announce himself a candidate. The Bond faction took him up. He was a young merchant, a member of the State Senate, but not very well known. He went into the campaign with determination. He toured the State thoroughly, and spoke everywhere. He had been an original Jackson man, and his speeches favored the new leader. He was straightforward and earnest, and his speeches, though devoid of oratory, were full of sound common sense.[1] Edwards says that a betting man would not have staked one dollar to a hun-

1 Davidson and Stuve: History of Illinois, 337.

dred on his chances against Cook.[1] It[2] was a great surprise to every one, both his followers and those of Cook, when he was elected. The vote stood 6,321 for Duncan, while Cook dropped to 5,680. Just why Cook was defeated it is hard to say. He made almost no effort in the campaign, it is true, but his exceeding popularity on former occasions should at least, it seems, have carried him with a small majority. Probably his Adams' vote influenced the election to some extent. Both Edwards and Cook were running for office, father for governor, and son-in-law for representative, the two most honorable gifts within the power of the State to bestow. Adams, in his Memoirs, says the defeat was due to Cook's supposed opposition to Benton's land scheme. In a letter written by Ninian Edwards to Henry Clay in September, 1826, he states the things which he believed were the causes of defeat. He says:

"You have doubtless long since heard of Mr. Cook's defeat, and seen it repeatedly attributed to the predominancy of General Jackson's interest in this State. But although the general's interest is considerable, and was not without its effect upon Mr. Cook's election, I can assure you it is very far from being predominant, at this time, and it never can be so if his most influential friends continue to oppose our canal. . . . How then, you may ask, did Mr. Cook lose his election? I will tell you. Both he and his friends felt too secure. None of them, with the exception of myself, could be induced to believe there was the least danger. His opponent did nothing for many months previously, but ride through the State, and visit the people at their own houses. Mr. Cook was confined by sickness, and could only visit a very few counties. The greatest possible efforts were made to turn to both his and my disadvantage, the circumstance of the father-in-law and the son-in-law being before the people at the same time for the two highest offices in their gift. But the circulation of thousands of hand bills, ingeniously contrived to produce the impression that both he and I voted against the reduction of

1 Edwards: History of Illinois, 266.
2 Ibid.

the price of public lands ,at a period too late to be answered or counteracted, had far more influence than all other considerations united. . . . The result has surprised everybody. The people are already disabused in regard to the land vote, and a powerful reaction has already taken place, and very many that opposed him are very anxious that he should become a candidate for the Senate. Should he do so, I think his election beyond all doubt."[1]

This election marked a change in Illinois politics.[2] From this time on the vote was for measures, not men. It was a common saying after election: "We did not intend to defeat Little Cook, but to lessen his majority, so as to make him feel his dependence upon us."[3] At all events, the defeat was a blow to the man, and probably hastened his death.

For the last two weeks of the session of Congress of 1826-7, Cook was confined to his home. He planned after the adjournment of the House, to go to Cuba, hoping in the milder climate there to regain his health. At this time a secret agent was needed at Havana. Cook was a good man for the place, both because of his talents, and because his going would arouse no suspicions, since it was well known that he was contemplating the visit. John Quincy Adams says in his diary that Cuba was then menaced with invasion by the forces of Mexico and Columbia, and, as information had come to him by a secret project of Canning, then British secretary of foreign affairs, Cook was intrusted with a confidential message to General Vives at Havana. He remained there till June, but, as his health was no better, he returned again to Edwardsville, Illinois, after having given a satisfactory reply to Mr. Clay, who had sent him on the mission.[4] During the summer, Mr. Cook became more and more frail, till in August he started for his old home in Kentucky to spend his last days. There he died on October 16, 1827.[5]

1 Edward's Papers, 260-1.
2 Ford's History of Illinois, 74.
3 Edwards: History of Illinois, 266.
4 Adams: Memoirs, VIII, 20.
5 Edwards: History of Illinois, 267.

Cook's period of activity in politics was less than twelve years, yet in that time he accomplished more than many a man does in a long life-time. What he might have attained, had he lived to a greater age, it is useless to conjecture. He did enough during his few years to make him worthy of memory, as one of Illinois' greatest statesmen and to deserve the honor of having Illinois' most important County named for him. To him belongs credit, primarily, for the part he played in preserving Illinois as a free state, and in gaining for his section the grant for the Illinois-Michigan canal. But behind these measures was a man in the truest sense of the term. Reynolds says:[1] "Cook's popularity was founded as much on his urbanity of manner, his gentlemanly deportment, and benevolence of heart, as on his capacity for office, or on the policy of his measures."

1 Reynolds: My Own Times, 256.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. Source Material.

1. The most valuable source material at hand was the Annals and Debates of Congress, by Gales and Seaton, 1789 to 1837. The volumes reporting the debates of Congress 1819 to 1827, were especially used.
2. Next in importance were the Edwards' Papers. There are several letters of Cook himself included in the book, and frequent mention is made by Ninian Edwards and others, in other letters.
   Chicago Historical Society (Vol. III.)
   Edwards Papers, Chicago, 1884.
3. The Memoirs of John Quincy Adams contain frequent mention of Cook, and occasionally material of great importance is found there, and nowhere else. Such is the case with the Havana mission.
   Adams, J. Q.: Memoirs, Philadelphia, 1874, 12 volumes.
4. Niles Weekly Register contains much the same materials to be found in the Annals of Congress.

There are several books, particularly histories of Illinois, which were written in later years by men who lived contemporaneous with Cook, which throw great light upon his life. Notable among these are:

5. Ford, Thomas: History of Illinois, Chicago, 1854, pp. 29, 54, 55, 73, 74.
   This book is valuable on account of the clear and usually accurate insight into the motives and actions of the public men during early state history. Ford is unique and interesting in his narration.
6. Reynolds, John: Pioneer History of Illinois, Belleville (Illinois) 1852. P. 332.
7. Reynolds, John: My Own Times, Illinois, 1855.
   Reynolds' books, though not quite so valuable as Ford's History, contain much interesting and helpful material.

B. Secondary Material.

8. Brown, Henry: History of Illinois, New York, 1844.
9. Gerhard, Fred: Illinois, As It Is, Chicago, 1857, p. 64.
   Neither of the last mentioned books contains much material, but what there is, is worth reading.
10. Edwards, Ninian Wirt: History of Illinois, and Life and Times of Ninian Edwards, 1778—1833, Springfield, 1870. P. 174, pp. 253-273.
    Of all the secondary material, this book is the most valuable. Cook is mentioned often in the history ifself, and, appended, is an extensive memoir by William H. Brown, fully supplemented with further remarks of valuable nature by the author. PP.253-273. While the younger Ninian Edwards was a little inclined to praise his brother-in-law to the fullest extent, his testimony to a large degree is reliable.

11. Next in value is Moses, Illinois, which devotes a large amount to Cook's life and work. Moses' view is perhaps somewhat less partial than that of Edwards.
Moses, John: Illinois—Historical and Statistical, 2 vols., Chicago, 1889-93. PP. 292, 294-5, 305. 312-13, 322, 341-2.

12. Davidson, Alexander. Stuve, Bernard: Complete History of Illinois, 1673—1873, Springfield, 1874. PP.325. 336-7, 475.
This book is useful principally for the account of Cook's part in the Illinois-Michigan canal.

13. The publications of the Illinois State Historical Society contain a number of articles bearing upon Cook's work.
Publication No. 8 contains articles
a. Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois, by J. H. Burnham.
b. The Attorneys-General of Illinois, by Mason H. Newell.
c. The Constitutional Conventions and Constitutions of Illinois, by Adlai E. Stevenson.
d. Decisive Events in the Building of Illinois, by William H. Collins.
e. Edward Coles, Second Governor of Illinois, by Mrs. S. P. Wheeler.
Publication No. 9 contains
a. Newspapers and Newspaper Men of Illinois, by E. A. Snively.
b. Illinois Legislation on Slavery and Free Negroes, 1818-1865, by Mason M. Fishback.
Publication No. 10 contains an article on Forgotten Statesmen of Illinois, Hon. Conrad Will, by John F. Snyder.
Publication No. 11 contains a valuable article on The Chicago Drainage Canal, and its forbear, The Illinois-Michigan Canal, by Alexander J. Jones.
The articles above mentioned vary in authenticity, but as a general thing may be accepted as substantially correct.
Other books used for special details were:

14. Snyder, J. F.: Adam W. Snyder and His Period of Illinois History, Virginia (Illinois), 1906. PP. 47, 76.
15. Gillespie, Joseph: Recollections of Early Illinois, Chicago, 1880, p. 14.
16. Smith, George W.: A Student's History of Illinois, Carbondale, 1907.
17. Washburne, E. B.: Sketch of Edward Coles and the Slavery Struggle, 1823-4. Chicago, 1882.
18. Ferris, J. E.: Thesis—A Study in Early Constitutional History of Illinois, 1895.
19. Harris, N. D.: History of Negro Servitude in Illinois, Chicago, 1904.
20. Wilson, Henry: Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in America.
21. Turner, F. J. Rise of the New West. The American Nation: A History, Vol. 14. New York, 1906.

Soldiers of The American Revolution Buried In Illinois

By Mrs. Edwin S. Walker.

We acknowledge the kindness of those who, having read the record of the Revolutionary soldiers buried in Illinois in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, have added to the list of names, giving records as well as the places of burial. The work of verifying the military service of over four hundred soldiers of the American Revolution who are known to be buried in the State, is necessarily slow, and many months may elapse before these records are complete.

At least sixty-five counties have the honor of being the last resting places of these soldiers. It is expected that all records will be verified by the time of the Centennial of the State of Illinois. We shall be glad of information from any person who is knowing to facts concerning these Revolutionary soldiers.

Cook County.

David Kennison was a "Revolutionist before the Revolution;" he was the last survivor of the historic "Boston Tea Party." Upon the outbreak of the war he lost no enthusiasm. His autobiography gives a remarkable record of service for his country.

David Kennison was born in New Hampshire November 17th, 1736; when an infant his father removed to Maine. Here he lived at the time of the Boston Tea Party. He was in the battles of Bunker Hill, White Plains, West Point, and Long Island, also Fort Montgomery, Staten Island, Delaware and Philadelphia, and was present when Cornwallis surrendered.

His patriotism did not wane, since he served in the second war for independence. When peace was declared he evidenced his love of country by casting his vote for Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Jackson, Van Buren and Polk. He was a strong "free soil" man and was active during the campaign. David Kennison died in Chicago Feb. 24, 1852, at the advanced age of 115 years. On December 19, 1903 a granite boulder monument was unveiled in Lincoln Park, Chicago, which marks the place of his burial. The monument was erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Sons of the American Revolution, and the Sons of the Revolution. Mrs. Benjamin A. Fessenden was regent of the Chicago Chapter at that time and her daughter Dorothy Dayton Fessenden unveiled the monument in the presence of over five hundred citizens of Chicago. The record of David Kennison's life will ever be an object lesson of rare love of country.

Ogle County.

Rufus Perkins was a native of Massachusetts, born at Bridgewater about 1763. When a mere lad he enlisted at Ashfield in Captain Abel Dinsmore's company, serving three months and fourteen days. He again served six months under Captains Canston and Hughs. He re-enlisted August 10, 1778, with Captain Enoch Chapin, serving until January 1, 1779; again he enlisted under Captain Oliver Shattuck and Lieutenant Colonel Barnabas Sears, and was discharged in 1781. He removed from Massachusetts to New York State and in 1847 he came to Illinois, settling at Buffalo Grove, near Polo.

The aged veteran, Rufus Perkins, made the long journey by stage and steamboat to Chicago and from Chicago to Buffalo Grove in a lumber wagon. He only lived one year, died October 30, 1848. Three years since a bronze tablet was unveiled in the Polo Public Library in honor of this patriot by the Polo Historical Society, assisted by the Daughters of the American Revolution of Rockford, Rochelle, Freeport, and Dixon and the Polo Post, Grand Army of the Republic. The tablet was unveiled by Edgar Thomas Clinton, great, great grandson of the hero, Rufus Perkins.

Daniel Day was born in Keene, New Hampshire, January, 1763; he enlisted April 4, 1780, and served until December the same year under Lieutenant Benjamin Ellis and Colonel Henry Dearborn. He was only seventeen years of age at the time of his enlistment. At an early day he removed to Illinois, settling in Ogle County. He died in 1838, and was buried in the Daysville cemetery, where a monument was erected to his memory.

Peoria County.

(Prepared by Mrs. Clara K. Wolf, Historian of Peoria Chapter, D. A. R.)

Phineas Bronson was a native of Connecticut, born at Enfield November 9, 1764; died in Peoria County, Illinois, October 24, 1845, and is buried in Princeville cemetery, where a tomb-stone inscribed, "A Soldier of the American Revolution," tells the story of service.

He served in the Third Company of the Second Regiment, Major Walbridge and Colonel Butler commanding.

William Crow was a private in the Virginia line of troops; was born in Rockingham County, Virginia, in 1758, died in Peoria County, Illinois, January 25, 1854. He lies buried in a private cemetery in Limestone Township near Pottstown.

James Harkness was a "Minute Man," marching on the first alarm from Pelham, Massachusetts, in Captain Candless' company, Colonel Benjamin R. Woodbridge's regiment; serving eleven days; he re-enlisted for eight months; re-enlisted June 22, 1778, serving as corporal and sergeant in Captain Joseph Perkins' company, Colonel Nathaniel Wade's regiment. James Harkness was born June 2, 1756, died at Harkness Grove, Illinois, August 18, 1836, and is buried in Harkness cemetery near Trivoli, Peoria County.

John Montgomery was a private in the Virginia troops; was born in 1764 and died in Peoria County, Illinois, January 26, 1845, and is buried in the Princeville cemetery. "A Soldier of the Revolution," is inscribed upon his tomb-stone.

Zealy Moss was wagon-master and assistant quarter-master in the Virginia troops; he enlisted in Loudon County in the spring of 1777, and served two years in the quarter-master's department. He re-enlisted in 1780 and served to the close

of the war. Zealy Moss was born in Loudon County, Virginia, March 5, 1755; died in Peoria, Illinois, October 30, 1835, and is buried in Springdale cemetery, Peoria. His grave is marked.

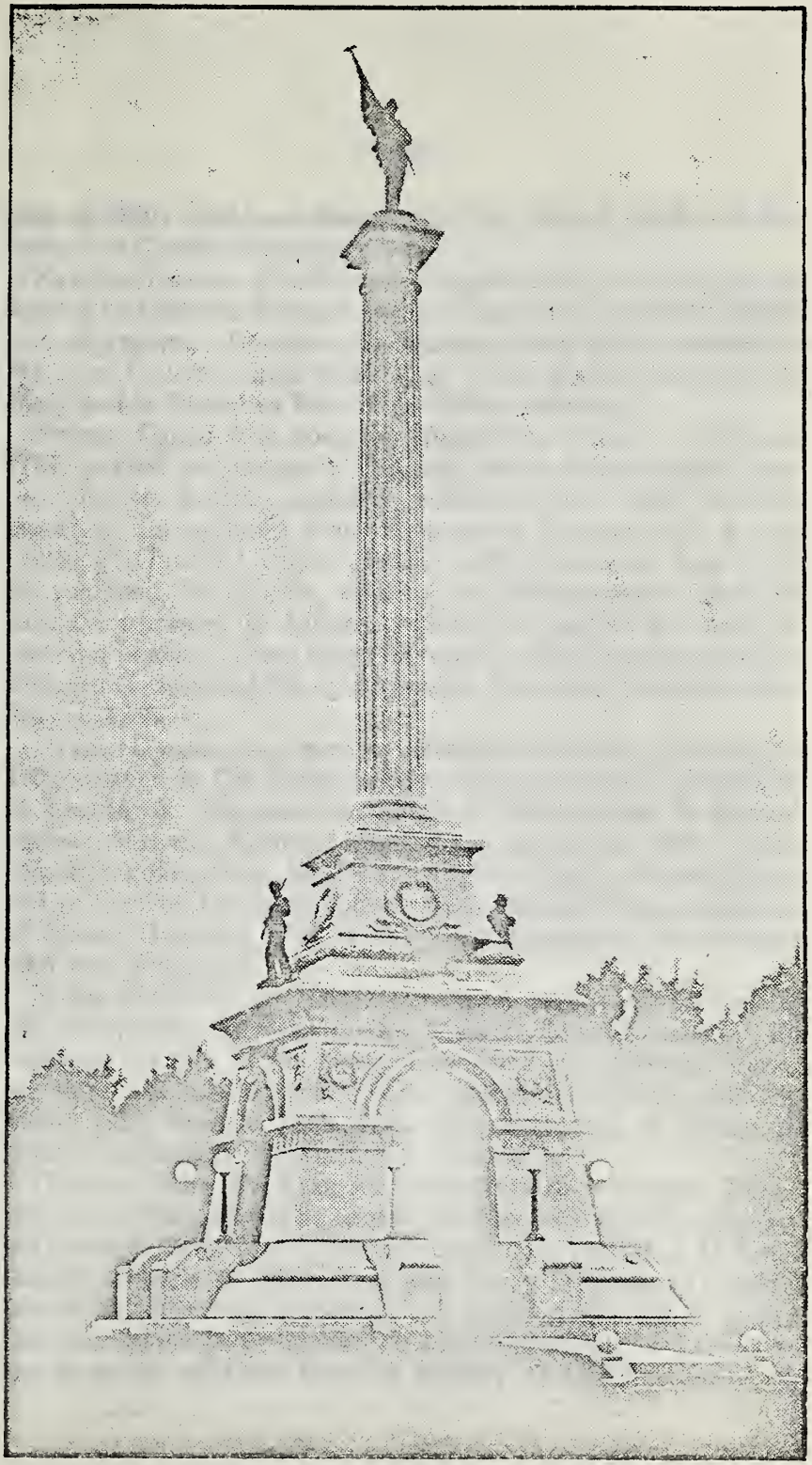
McLean County.

Has preserved in bronze and stone the name of every soldier and sailor who ever resided in the County who participated in any war in which the United States has been engaged. On Memorial Day, May 30, 1913, the monument was dedicated with fitting ceremonies. Twelve names of Revolutionary soldiers who lie buried in McLean County are engraved on the monument. The work of locating the graves and verifying the records of these soldiers was accomplished by Mrs. H. M. Rollins, historian of the Letitia Green Stevenson Chapter, D. A. R., ably assisted by Milo Custer, Esq., who is adding to this accredited list the names and records of Revolutionary soldiers buried in counties adjoining McLean. The spirit of gratitude towards soldiers of any war needs fostering. Their lives, their sacrifices, need to be frequently recalled. "Lest we forget; lest we forget."

Ebenezer Barnes was born in Boston, Massachusetts, February 3, 1759; he served his country by enlisting five different times, first as corporal in 1775 under Captain Batchelder, Colonel Read; later the same year as sergeant with Captain Aldrich; again in 1776 for nine months as sergeant under Captain Foster, Colonel Smith; re-enlisting in 1777, he was made lieutenant with Captain Samuel Fletcher, Colonel Bedel's regiment, serving four months; finally, the following summer, 1778, he served ten months as lieutenant with Captain Tyler, Colonel Fay, all in Massachusetts line of troops. He was in the battle of White Plains, was pensioned.

Ebenezer Barnes came to McLean County, Illinois, in 1829, settling at Barnes' Grove in Danvers Township; he died May 17, 1836, and is probably buried in Stout's Grove cemetery.

Joseph Bartholmew was a native of New Jersey, born March 15, 1766; was a private in Captain Jonathan Rowland's company, Tradyffren, Pennsylvania line of troops, in 1780. He settled in Money Creek Township in McLean County, Illi-



McLean County Soldiers' Monument, Miller Park, Bloomington, Illinois.
Dedicated May 30th, 1913.

nois in 1830; died near Clarksville, Ill., Nov. 2, 1840, and lies buried in Clarksville cemetery.

Samuel Beeler, a native of Virginia, born about 1760; he served in Captain Samuel Beeler's company in the Virginia line of troops. He came to Illinois about 1830, settling in McLean County; died there near Twin Grove January 14, 1840, and is buried in East Twin Grove cemetery.

Philip Crose was born in Hampshire County, Virginia, 1757; served as private in Captain Daniel Richardson's company for six months, again the following year, 1781, for four months. He enlisted from Hampshire County, was in the battle of Guilford Court House. After the war was over, he removed to Illinois, settling in Shawneetown, Gallatin County, removed to Indiana, where he applied for and received a pension; from there he came to Illinois and settled in McLean County in 1836, in Randolph Township, where he died July 4, 1848.

David Haggard was born in Albemarle County, Virginia in 1762; served in the Virginia line of troops, was in the battle of Yorktown. He came to Illinois in 1836, settled in Bloomington, McLean County; died there April 15, 1843. This record is taken from the Haggard Genealogy; no official record of service has been found. He was doubtless a brother of James Haggard, who is buried in Sangamon County and who was pensioned.

Moses Hougham or Huffman, was a soldier of the American Revolution, serving in the Virginia line of troops. He received his pay at the close of the war at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Moses Hougham came to McLean County, Illinois, about 1830, died in 1845, aged 101 years, and is buried in Scogin's cemetery, Bloomington Township.

Captain John C. Karr was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1758; served as captain in Second Battalion, Somerset County, New Jersey, line of troops. He settled in McLean County, Illinois, in 1839; died near Leroy December 16, 1840; buried in Heyworth cemetery. Captain Karr left in a will the inscription to be placed on his tomb-stone: "Sacred to the Memory of John Karr, a Soldier of the Revolution in

1776." He also left a request that he be buried with the honors of war, which request was complied with in full.

William McCullough, born in Baltimore, Maryland, 1756; served as private in Captain Alexander Lawson Smith's company, Colonel Moses Rawling's regiment, Maryland troops, for two years. He settled in McLean County about 1830, died November 23, 1832, and lies buried in the old McCullough family cemetery, on what is now the Elkins farm.

William McGhee was born in Louisa County, Virginia, 1761; was a private, serving two years and six months; enlisting five different times in Captain Pond's company, Colonel Wade's regiment; also in Captain Bracken's Company, Colonel Lofton's regiment; also in Captain Smith's company, Colonel Shepard's regiment; also Captain Armstrong's company, Colonel Lewis' regiment; also Captain James Shepard's company, Colonel Lewis' regiment, all in the North Carolina line of troops. He enlisted from Mecklenburg, was in the battle of Wilmington. He removed to Illinois in 1828, settled in McLean County; died at Diamond Grove, and is buried in the cemetery at that place; died October 6, 1843.

John Toliday was born near Poughkeepsie, New York, October, 1763; served as private in Captain Samuel Bowman's company of New York Rangers for four months; again under Captain James Harrison's company, Colonel Dubois' regiment, for six months. About 1830 he came to reside in Mount Hope Township, McLean County, Illinois. He died in Leroy, Illinois, about 1849, and is buried in Oak Grove cemetery.

Jacob Williamson. The official record of service of Jacob Williamson has not been ascertained. There is no doubt of his having served in the Revolutionary War. He doubtless served in the New Jersey line of troops. Mr. William Hieronymus, Jr., an aged resident of McLean County, remembers Jacob Williamson and of hearing him tell of his service in the war. After the war had closed he removed to Tazewell County, settling at Hittle's Grove, about 1826. He died in what is now Danvers Township, McLean County, June, 1838, and is probably buried in Stout's Grove cemetery.

Marshall County.

Joseph Warner was born in Anne Arundel County, Maryland, March, 1738; he removed to Fairfax County, Virginia, and enlisted from there; was in the battle of Germantown, 1779. In 1802 he removed to Ohio, and in 1838, at the advanced age of 100 years, he came to Illinois, coming the entire distance on horse-back, residing at Cherry Point, Marshall County. He longed for his old home in Ohio, and when 102 years of age, he started back, walking twelve miles across the unbroken prairie, where friends gave him shelter and persuaded him to return to Cherry Point.

Another incident illustrating the indomitable courage and zeal, both Christian and patriotic, with which these pioneer-patriots were endowed: One cold, sleety Sunday, his daughter thought Mr. Warner ought not to attend church, but fearing he would be left at home, he started on foot. There was a creek to be crossed which he did by lying down and crawling over on two icy poles. This when he was 102 years of age. The aged patriot died September 5, 1842, and lies buried in Cherry Point, where a monument marks his last resting place.

Lemuel Gaylord was born February 14, 1765, in Bristol County, Connecticut; died November 17, 1854, and is buried in Cumberland cemetery, Evans Township, Marshall County, Illinois.

Lemuel Gaylord's father was killed in the famous massacre of Wyoming, July, 1778. His mother at once started for her old home in Connecticut, suffering untold hardships on the way. Three years after her return, Lemuel enlisted, serving as ensign in Colonel Roger Enos' company. After the war he removed to Illinois, settling in what is now Marshall County. Kathryn Gaylord, his mother, was the first Revolutionary heroine, for whom a public monument was erected, and the Bristol Chapter, D. A. R., of Connecticut, is named in honor of Kathryn Gaylord, the mother of this hero of the American Revolution.

THE GETTYSBURG REUNION. 1863-1913.

Senator Campbell S. Hearn of the Thirty-sixth Senatorial District, comprising the counties of Adams, Pike, Scott and Calhoun, the only member of the Illinois General Assembly who enjoys the distinction of having served as a volunteer soldier in the Confederate Army, was one of those who attended the recent reunion of the soldiery at the Gettysburg battlefield, July 1st, 2nd and 3rd. Of the committee appointed to represent the General Assembly at this, the greatest reunion of the heroes of the Blue and Gray since the Grand Review at Washington in 1865, only Representatives R. D. Kirkpatrick and Thomas Campbell, besides Senator Hearn, were able to attend, Representatives James H. Farrell and Joseph Carter and Senator Edmund Beall being unavoidably detained. The trip east from Quincy was a long one, and Senator Hearn was worn out with the heat, which was very noticeable on his arrivel at Gettysburg. This little Pennsylvania village immortalized through its baptism of fire, and where the hopes of the Confederacy reached their highest tide, only to be flung back, pierced and torn, at the points of those serried ranks of bayonets, in the hands of men commanded by Meade, Sickles and a host of others whose silent tents are now spread forever on Fame's eternal camping ground. The slopes of Cemetery Ridge, Round Top, Little Round Top, the Wheat Field and the Peach Orchard were again peopled with the marching hosts, but there was brotherly love and friendship in the meeting after the passing of half a century of profound peace. The ground hallowed by the blood of the Louisiana Tigers, who led Pickett's brigade on its immortal charge at 1 o'clock on the second day of the great battle, was again trod by eager feet, though they were leaden with the weight of half a hundred years. Rancor and enmity

had no place at Gettysburg, on this occasion. There were but the cheers for the living, and tears for the dead. Those heroes who gave their lives that posterity might retain the heritage wrested from the dominant ones of earth in the days of Washington and Jefferson and those men who lived through the bloody struggles of the sixties, have still a great place in the hearts of the American people, and a blue or gray uniform is an honor today. The reunion at Gettysburg, undertaken by the states at large, and Illinois always in the vanguard, has done much to cement the already strongly united ties of North and South. None realize this better than the gray-bearded senator from the Thirty-sixth District, who having taken up arms against the government, now seeks to serve it most zealously at all times. His heart warmed to both North and South, and as he stood uncovered on the great battlefield, he prayed that never again might come the renewal of civil strife, but that rather all Americans might join in that noble strife for the betterment of all, for the shifting of the burden from the backs of those least able to bear it, and for a continuance of that friendship and brotherly love which instigated the reunion of Blue and Gray at the Gettysburg battlefield on the fiftieth anniversary of the great struggle.

The entire celebration was under the general direction of the federal government, and the sanitary and control features were masterpieces of their kind. Each division was marked by tablet, ensign or statue, and the Blue and Gray avenues were easy of access, beautiful in design, and perfect in appointment. Mounted cavalry maintained perfect order on the grounds, eliminating any possibility of injury or accident to the veterans, many of whom are now necessarily in feeble health. All in all, the celebration was one long to be remembered, and the Illinois committee, representing the commonwealth, was indeed proud to attend the reunion and again live over those stirring scenes of the days a half century gone by.

EDITORIAL

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George W. Smith E. C. Page

Applications for Membership in the Society may be sent to the Secretary of the Society, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Illinois.
Membership Fee, One Dollar, Paid Annually. Life Membership, $25.00

VOL. VI. OCTOBER, 1913. No. 3.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, NOVEMBER, 19, 1913, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DELIVERY OF THE GETTYSBURG ADDRESS.

Wednesday, November 19, 1913, is the fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of the National Cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, at which time Mr. Lincoln delivered the brief speech which has been immortalized and become known as the Gettysburg address. Governor Dunne by a special proclamation called the attention of the people of Illinois to this anniversary and asked them to observe it in some special way.

The Illinois State Historical Society will hold a special memorial meeting on the evening of that day, and the Governor has consented to preside over it. Judge J. O. Cunningham of Urbana, Illinois, who was a personal friend of Mr. Lincoln, will tell of his recollections of the great President. Professor F. G. Blair, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, will deliver an address, as will also Hon. Everett Jennings, assistant State's Attorney of Cook County. These

gentlemen are eloquent speakers and deeply feel the greatness of the occasion.

The members of the Society are urged to attend the meeting.

The program in full is as follows:

Meeting Called to Order.....Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Chicago
President of the Society.

Invocation.....Rev. E. B. Rogers, D.D., Springfield

Music, "Illinois".....Apollo Quartette

The Presiding Officer.....Governor Edward F. Dunne

Music.....Mrs. Sarajane Mathews Brown

The Gettysburg Address. Recitation.....Miss Mary Willett

Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln..Judge J. O. Cunningham, Urbana

Music.....Mrs. Sarajane Mathews Brown

Address.....Hon. Francis G. Blair
State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

Music.....Apollo Quartette

Address.....Hon. Everett Jennings, Chicago, Illinois

Music.....Apollo Quartette

PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNOR.

STATE OF ILLINOIS
Executive Department
SPRINGFIELD

WHEREAS, Our martyred president and idolized son of Illinois Abraham Lincoln, delivered his celebrated Gettysburg address on the 19th day of November, 1863, on the battle-field upon which the issue of the great conflict in behalf of liberty, equality and the enfranchisement of the slaves of the United States was determined; and,

WHEREAS, November 19th, 1913, will be the fiftieth anniversary of the delivery of this immortal address; and,

WHEREAS, In common with many other citizens of the State, I deem it appropriate that this inspirational and eloquent utterance should be impressed upon the minds of the people of the State as the typical expression of patriotism and humanity,

Now, THEREFORE, I respectfully urge upon the people of Illinois, and in particular upon those engaged in the education of the youth of the State, that they hold in our schools and other educational institutions and public places services at which shall be read, with reverence and solemnity, this remarkable and undying utterance of the great humanitarian of his age.

In suggesting this observance I do not desire or request the suspension of or the interference with the commercial and business pursuits of our citizens, bearing in mind that within a few days thereafter our time-honored celebration of Thanksgiving Day will be held under the proclamation of the President of the United States and of the Governors of the several states of the Union.

In testimony whereof, I set my hand and cause to be affixed the Great Seal of State, this sixteenth day of October, A. D. 1913.

EDWARD F. DUNNE,
Governor.

By the Governor:
HARRY WOODS,
Secretary of State.

THE STATE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION.

The Commission for the State Centennial has held three meetings, organized by the election of officers and the appointment of necessary committees, and these committees are busy planning the work of their respective departments.

The officers of the Commission are: Senator Campbell S. Hearn, of Quincy, chairman, and Jessie Palmer Weber, secretary.

The Executive Committee, which was appointed by the chairman of the Commission and which will in a measure manage the business of the Commission, consists of two senators, two members of the House of Representatives, and one member each from the State University and the State His-

torical Society. They are Senators Keller and Magill, Representatives Pervier and Burns, President James, and Dr. Schmidt, and the chairman. Governor E. F. Dunne and State Superintendent of Public Instruction Blair are members *ex officio*.

COMMITTEES OF THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

(1) Committee on Statewide Celebrations—

Senator Keller, Chairman. Members—Prof Garner, Senator Johnson, Representatives Burns, Huston and Pervier, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

(2) Committee on Celebration at State Capital—

Senator Magill, General Chairman.
Chairman for Dedicatory Program—President James.
Chairman for Historical Pageant—Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.
Chairman for Centennial Exposition—Senator Hay.

(Sub-Committees of Exposition Committee)

(a) Agriculture—Representative Pervier.
(b) Livestock—Representative Huston.
(c) Mining—Representative Morris.
(d) Manufactures—Representative Baker.
(e) Transportation—Senator Johnson.
(f) Education—State Superintendent Blair.
(g) Arts and Sciences—Professor Garner.
(h) Historical Relics—Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber.

(3) Committee on Centennial Memorial Building—

Senator Hay, Chairman. Members—Senator Keller, and Representatives Burns, Baker and Morris.

(4) Committee on Centennial Memorial Publications—

Doctor O. L. Schmidt, Chairman. Members—Representative Baker; President James and Professors Greene and Garner.

(5) Committee on Statues and Historical Markings—

Professor Evarts B. Greene, Chairman. Members—Senators Magill and Johnson; Representative Huston and Doctor Schmidt.

(6) Committee on Publicity—

Representative Burns, Chairman. Members—State Superintendent Blair; Senators Magill and Keller; Representative Morris and Doctor Schmidt.

Clerk of Commission—LEIGH CALL.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE TO THE GENERAL COMMITTEE OF THE ILLINOIS CENTENNIAL COMMISSION.

Gentlemen: The undersigned Committee, appointed by you for the purpose of recommendations in regard to the cele-

bration of the Illinois Centennial, herewith begs to report as follows:

The Centennial should illustrate, record and perpetuate the story of Illinois and should comprise a celebration of a solemn jubilant character, which would fall into two divisions as to locality; local celebrations in every County of the State, including at least the County-seats, larger cities and schools; and,

A general celebration at Springfield. This celebration in the capital of the State should have a national and also international character on account of the significant relationship of the State, politically, industrially, commercially and in its historical development, to the United States as well as to European nations.

The extent of this celebration cannot be accurately drawn at present, but it ought to include a concourse of foreign representatives, of high representatives of the United States government, of representatives of other states of the Union and of representatives of the schools, churches and other societies that have ever been active in the making of this great State.

The Springfield celebration should divide itself into a reception of these delegates, proper exercises with orations, out-door forms of celebration such as a civil and military display with pageantry showing important phases of State development. For the latter the loyalty and energy of the Springfield people can be relied upon to co-operate with the general committee.

Furthermore, for the celebration in Springfield the Committee recommends the holding of an exposition of several weeks showing the progress of the State in education, industries, labor conditions, economics, etc., by exhibits and statistics of all kinds. Thus, the farming implements of 1818 should be shown side by side with the modern miracles of farm machinery. In the manufacture of the latter, Illinois stands first in the Union, and its manufacturers will surely lend their active aid to such an exhibit in honor of the State.

The mining industries would show the same marvelous advance. These two examples are given to indicate the direc-

tion and scope of the exhibit. Such an exposition of civilization would show the daily life and routine of work of our pioneers to the life of the present day.

The second phase of the celebration should take the form of dedicating permanent memorials. This permanent marking of the Centennial should be,

First—By a monumental building.

Second—By a monumental publication of the history of Illinois in every phase.

Third—By the unveiling of monuments of the heroes of Illinois. Of these latter monuments, some are now in the planning as of Lincoln and Douglas, but many more deserve to be added.

In consideration of the first division of enduring memorials, that is, the building, it is necessary to consider that the erection of a new State building for the purposes of the State Educational Department, the Illinois State Historical Library, the Illinois State Historical Society, the Illinois State Library, the Illinois State Museum of Natural Science and a Memorial Hall, has been under consideration for a number of years, but has not yet passed out of the preliminary stage.

Your Committee recommends that the Centennial Committee seek the co-operation of the present committee for the erection of the State Educational Building so as to eventually unite into one committee for the purpose of the completion of such a building for dedication at the time of the Centennial, and that such committee, as well as building, be known under some suitable and suggestive title as the Committee for the Erection of the Illinois Centennial Memorial Building. Such building should be of the most durable, permanent material and also of an architectural character that will make it an everlasting monument of the celebration.

The second object of recommendation for a permanent instrument of the Centennial is a publication of the natural, economic, political and sociological history of the State. There are at present a number of books on these subjects, but there is no complete authoritative series on these activities of the State extant. The books on the subject are as a whole

not exhaustive, with few exceptions, not of the standard that is worthy of the State of Illinois. The necessity of such a publication setting forth not alone the deeds of the past century, but also the sociological and industrial prospect of the future is apparent, but the consideration of the question of such a publication is left to the further consideration of the General Committee. Your Executive Committee is satisfied of the importance and significance of such an undertaking, but believes that it had better at present be left for more thorough consideration.

Your Executive Committee has no further recommendations for the time of holding the celebration than that given at our first general meeting. The celebration would best be held in October when the weather would be favorable throughout the whole State. A special celebration of a solemn character should be held in the State House, churches of the State, societies, etc., on December 3rd, the actual date of the admission of our State into the galaxy of commonwealths comprising the Federal Union of 1818.

The Committee, therefore, recommends the appointment of special committees for each of the purposes above mentioned. Inasmuch as the success of the Centennial will from the beginning to its ultimate occurrence depend on the interest and understanding of the citizens of Illinois of its purpose, it is highly recommended that a Department of Publicity for the spread of knowledge in regard to the scope of the Centennial Commission's work should be immediately instituted. Such a department should consist of a special commitee having in its employ a person versed in the methods of publicity; such publicity would be necessarily carried on largely through the State Department of Education as well as through the newspapers.

The loyalty of the Illinois public press to its State is well known, so that the Committee feels assured of the generosity and good will of the press toward its undertaking.

We recommend sending to each newspaper in this State an invitation to co-operate with us by publishing both such articles as the Commission may send out and original articles and letters tending to arouse general interest. That we in-

vite original literary contributions from all sources for use by the Commission.

That we invite the superintendents of schools and teachers of all the schools of the State to have read to the pupils at various times articles calculated to instruct the school children of Illinois in the ways in which Illinois has grown from the hunting grounds of roving savages to the abode of highly civilized and educated men.

That we solicit from the old people of our State their recollections of the men and women of early times and the acts and sacrifices that mark our history and development.

Your Executive Committee has under consideration the appointment of special committees for the objects mentioned, viz:

First—Committee on state-wide celebrations.

Second—Committee on celebration at State capital—

(a) Historical pageant.

1—Agriculture.

2—Livestock

3—Mining.

4—Manufactures.

5—Transportation.

(b) Exposition.

6—Education.

7—Arts and Sciences.

8—Historical Relics.

(c) Program of Dedicatory Exercises.

Third—Committee on Memorial Building.

Fourth—Committee on Centennial Memorial Publications.

Fifth—Committee on Statues and Historical Markings.

Sixth—Committee on Publicity.

These committees were appointed and a list given on page 460 of this number of the Journal.

RESIGNATION OF MISS MAUDE THAYER.

The friends and patrons of the Illinois State Library will be sorry to hear of the resignation of Miss Maude Thayer, who has been for more than sixteen years, first assistant or acting State librarian.

The secretary of state by virtue of his office is State librarian, but of course his chief deputy librarian has charge of the Library and its affairs.

The friends of the Library and of Miss Thayer will be glad to know that what is the Library's loss is the gain of a worthy gentleman, as Miss Thayer leaves the Library to be married, early in the new year, to Mr. J. F. Morrow of Chicago.

Maude Thayer has given to the State Library sixteen of the very best years of her life. She was appointed to the position of second assistant librarian in April, 1897, by the State Library Board or Commission, which then consisted of John R. Tanner, Governor; James A. Rose, Secretary of State, and Samuel M. Inglis, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, and she was promoted on the resignation of the first assistant librarian.

She brought to the work culture, industry and a peculiar critical faculty that enabled her to buy books with discrimination, and her work has resulted in the accumulation for the Library of an extraordinary collection of practical and general reference works.

Miss Thayer has been employed in the State Library a greater length of time than any other acting librarian in the history of the Library, and she has, of course, made hosts of acquaintances and friends, all of whom will gladly testify to her ability and courtesy.

The Library will always bear the impress of her administration of its affairs and its admirably selected and well classified materials will be an enduring monument to her efforts.

Miss Thayer is a talented musician and she has been one of the leading spirits of the Amateur Musical Club of Springfield. She has for years been a member of the Springfield Authors' Club, and of the Illinois State Historical Society.

The best wishes of the members of these associations will go with her to her new home, and it is certain that her talents and industry will continue to enrich any community or society of which she may be a part.

A SOLDIERS' MONUMENT.

Woman Leaves $10,000.00 for Shaft—The will of Mary M. Newton, one of the wealthy women of Batavia, Illinois, has been filed for probate. The executors are instructed to erect a $10,000.00 monument to the soldiers who enlisted at Batavia in the Civil War. The name of each man enlisting at Batavia is to be inscribed on the stone.

GIFTS OF BOOKS, LETTERS, PHOTOGRAPHS AND MANUSCRIPTS TO THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

The following named books, letters, photographs and manuscripts have been presented to the library. The Board of Trustees of the Library and the officers of the Society desire to acknowledge the receipt of these valuable contributions and to thank the donors for them:

History of the United States and Its People, From Their Earliest Records to the Present Time. By Elroy McKendree Avery. 7 Vols, 8 vo., Cleveland, Ohio, 1904-1910. Burrows Bros., Pubs. Gift of Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, Chicago, Illinois.

Copy of the Journal of the Senate of the Fourth General Assembly of the State of Illinois, at Their First Session, Begun and Held at the Town of Vandalia, November 15, 1824. 282 p. 12 mo. Vandalia, 1824. Printed by Robert Blackwell & Co., Printers to the State. Gift of Mr. George H. Waters, Shelbyville, Illinois.

Abraham Lincoln. Speech of Hon. James M. Graham of Illinois in the United States House of Representatives, February 12, 1913. 15 p. 8 vo. Washington, D. C. United States Government Publications, 1913. Gift of Hon. James M. Graham, Springfield, Illinois.

The First National Bank of Chicago—Charter Number Eight. A brief history of its progress from the day on which it opened for business, July 1, 1863, to the same date a half century later, with which is incorporated a sketch of the First Trust & Savings Bank. 87 p. 8 vo. Chicago, 1913. M. A. Donohue & Co., Pubs. Gift of the Directors of the First National Bank of Chicago.

Tolerance in Religion. Liberal Thoughts of Modern Thinkers. Collected by Henry Biroth. 121 p. 8 vo. Privately printed, 1913. Gift of Mrs. Stella Biroth Massey, 130 Vermont Street, Blue Island, Illinois.

The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition Held in Commemoration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of American Independence. Phila-

delphia, 1876. By James D. McCabe. 874 p. 8vo. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1876. The National Pub. Co., Pubs. Gift of Mrs. William E. Fain, 825 North Fourth Street, Springfield, Illinois.

Key to the Heaven of the Beyan or a Third Call of Attention to the Behalsts or Babists of America. By August J. Stenstrand, 34 p. 8 vo. Chicago, 1911. Publisher not given. Gift of Mr. A. J. Stenstrand, 217 West Elm Street, Chicago, Illinois.

Soldiers and Their Deeds. Compiled by W. Straley, Editor of the Hico News-Review, Hico, Texas. 25 p. 8 vo., Hico, Texas, 1913. Hico Printing Co. Gift of W. Straley, Hico, Texas.

Transactions of the Commonwealth Club of California. Vol. VIII, No. 6. San Francisco, 1913. Sources of California History. Address by Judge John F. Davis. Gift of Judge John F. Davis, San Francisco, California.

Old Santa Fe. A Magazine of History, Archaeology, Genealogy and Biography. Published at Santa Fe, New Mexico. Gift of Ralph Emerson Twitchell, ed.

A True Sketch of His Army Life. By Stephen C. Beck, 51 p. 8 vo., 1913. Place and publisher not given. Gift of Stephen C. Beck, Edgar, Clay County, Nebraska. Resident for the past forty years of Edgar, Clay County, Nebraska.

The Railway Library 1912 (Fourth Series). A collection of noteworthy addresses and papers, mostly delivered or published during the year named. Thompson Slason, Comp. and Ed. 470 p. 8 vo. Chicago, 1913. Stromberg, Allen & Co., Pubs. Gift of the Railway News Bureau, Chicago, Illinois.

The Germans of Chicago and Stephen A. Douglas. By F. I. Herriott, professor of Economics and Political Science, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. Reprinted from Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblaetter, January, 1912. Gift of F. I. Herriott.

First Baptist Church, Urbana, Illinois. Seventy-fifth Anniversary History of the First Baptist Church, Urbana, Illinois. Organized Sept. 21, 1838. Diamond Jubilee Week Sept. 21-28, 1913. 106 p. 8 vo. Urbana, Illinois, 1913. Gift of the Historic Committee: L. A. McLean, Chairman; Rev. G. M. Shott, Secretary; Mrs. Melissa Carson, Mrs. Margaret Walker, Mrs. R. A. Webber, N. A. Riley.

A Record of the Descendants of George Hull. Delos Hull, Comp. 53 p. 8vo. Oak Park, 1909. Gift of Mr. Delos Hull, Oak Park, Illinois.

The Colchester Conn. Newton Family. Descendants of Thomas Newton of Fairfield, Connecticut, 1639. Compiled by Clair Alonzo Newton. 134 p. 12 mo. Naperville, Illinois, 1911. Publisher not given. Gift of Mr. Clair A. Newton, Naperville, Illinois.

The Families of French of Belturbet and Nixon of Fermanagh and Their Descendants. By the Rev. Henry Biddall Swanzy, M.A. Printed for private circulation. 211 p. 8 vo., Dublin, 1908. Printed by Alex Thom & Co. Gift of Mr. A. Swanzy, Princeton, Illinois.

Fourteen Numbers of Illinois College Rambler. Pub. by Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois. Gift of Mr. Morrison Worthington, Jacksonville, Illinois.

Marietta College Bulletin. Vol. II, No. 1, Nov. 1912. Memorial of President Alfred Tyler Perry. Gift of Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

The Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society. January, 1912, to September, 1913. 6 Nos. Pub. Frankfort, Ky., Mrs. Jennie C. Morton, Secretary. Gift of the Kentucky State Historical Society, Frankfort, Kentucky.

History of the Ordinance of 1787. By Edward Coles, formerly Governor of Illinois, Member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania June 9, 1856. 33 p. 8 vo. Philadelphia, 1856. Press of the Society. Gift of Mr. John W. Jordan, Librarian Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

The Picture Book of Earlier Buffalo. 508 p. 8vo. Buffalo, New York, 1912.

Pub. by the Buffalo Historical Society. Gift of the Buffalo Historical Society.

James Harlan—By Johnson Brigham. 398 p. 8 vo. Iowa City, Iowa, 1913. Gift of the Iowa State Historical Society. Iowa City, Iowa.

History of the Baptist Church of Woodford County. By A. F. Marshall, A.B. Democrat-Journal Print, Eureka, Illinois, 1913. 45 p. Gift of the author.

Bulletins of the Second Presbyterian Church, Springfield, Illinois. June 21, 1896, to May, 1913. 6 bound volumes. Gift of Mr. Clinton L. Conkling and Miss Carrie Johnson. Springfield, Illinois.

Letters Patent issued to Zadoc W. Flinn to lands in Morgan County; David Clopton, Sangamon County. Zadoc W. Flinn, assignee for John Doonigan. 14 papers, dated 1826, 1827, 1833, 1834, 1835, 1837, 1839, 1841. Gift of Miss Lucille Frances Sallee, Virginia, Illinois, grand-daughter of Zadoc W. Flinn.

Announcement of a Meeting of Williamsburg Tippecanoe Association. October 20, 1840. Gift of Miss Annie C. Butler, Rockford, Illinois.

Original Letter From General S. A Hurlbut to Dr. I. M. Butler, Dated Washington, D. C., January 7, 1878. Gift of Miss Annie C. Butler.

Original Letter of John A. Logan to Dr. I. M. Butler, Dated Chicago, November 28, 1878. Gift of Miss Annie C. Butler, Rockford, Illinois.

Copy of Cataract and Waterfall or Massachusetts Washingtonian. Vol. I, No. 50. Worcester, Massachusetts, February 28, 1844 (newspaper). Gift of Mr. S. H. Drury, 1610 Fort Dearborn Building, Chicago, Illinois.

Three Photographic Copies of Lincoln Documents. Gift of Miss Helen Allen, Springfield, Illinois.

Two Photographs. Governor John Reynolds' Home, Belleville, Illinois. Home of Governor Ninian Edwards, Belleville, Illinois. Also Photograph of Tomb of Governor Reynolds, Belleville. Gift of Hon. Fred J. Kern, Belleville, Illinois.

One Photograph of Camp Yates Boulder, 333 South Douglas Avenue, Springfield, Illinois, marks spot from which General U. S. Grant began his march to Missouri in 1861. War of the Rebellion. Gift of Mr. J. E. Melick, 333 South Douglas Avenue, Springfield, Illinois.

NECROLOGY

JAMES FURLONG.

James Furlong, a well known dry goods merchant and prominent citizen of Springfield, Illinois, died of a complication of diseases at 7:30 o'clock Sunday evening, August 3, 1913. The funeral was held at 9 o'clock Wednesday morning, August 6, from the residence, 400 South Ninth street, and at 9:30 at the Church of the Immaculate Conception. Rev. Father Hickey, pastor of the church, was in charge of the services. Burial was made in Calvary cemetery.

James Furlong was born in New Ross, Wexford County, Ireland, December 27, 1846. At the age of 16 he came to this country with his parents. They moved directly to Springfield.

During Civil War times Mr. Furlong was a clerk at Camp Butler. At the close of the war he engaged in the confectionary business. Later he opened a dry goods store at 128 South Sixth street, on the east side of the public square. For the last twenty years he has been engaged in this business at 208-210 South Sixth street.

He was a member of the Springfield Council No. 364, Knights of Columbus, and Lodge No. 158, Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, and of the Illinois State Historical Society.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Kate Furlong; three sons, Thomas, Howard and Robert Furlong, all of this city; one brother, Robert M. Furlong, of Pasadena, California, and one sister, Mrs. Thomas Gentleman, of Omaha, Nebraska.

Mr. Furlong was a man of a genial, sunny disposition, and had a smile and a kind word for everyone. He had lived in Springfield the greater part of his life and had a very large acquaintance. He was strongly interested in Springfield and the State of Illinois, and greatly enjoyed the work and publications of the Historical Society. While he was too busy

to be active in the labors of the Society, he never lost an opportunity of speaking a word of appreciation and encouragement to its officers. This helpful, kindly spirit was one of his strongest characteristics, and many men, women and children will miss him from his accustomed place.

DEATH OF DR. REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, SECRETARY AND SUPERINTENDENT OR THE WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

The death of Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites on October 22, 1913, at his home in Madison, Wisconsin, came as a great surprise and shock to all historical students of the Mississippi valley and the west, to whom the name of Dr. Thwaites has long been a household word.

For more than a quarter of a century Dr. Thwaites has labored in the field of western history and through his remarkable industry, energy and great executive ability, he has accomplished wonderful things. When in 1886, Dr. Thwaites was called upon to preside over the Wisconsin State Historical Society, it was already a great and flourishing Society, Library and educational force, built up largely through the efforts of Lyman C. Draper, and Mr. Thwaites had enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Draper and was well acquainted with his hopes, plans and policies, and so was well equipped for carrying on his work. In 1886, when he entered upon this work, Reuben Gold Thwaites was thirty-three years of age, an active, energetic, virile young man. The work of the Wisconsin Historical Society became his life-work. His previous labors had been but a preparation for this great field and he became a commanding force, an authority on western history, and the Society which he represented became the inspiration and model for other historical societies. Dr. Thwaites was the author and editor of many historical books, among the principal of which are: The Wisconsin Historical Society Collections, of which he was the editor, beginning with Volume Eleven; the Jesuit Relations; and Narratives of Early Western Travel.

In 1882 he married Miss Jessie Inwood Turville, who with one son, Dr. Frederick W. Thwaites, survives him.

In 1900 Dr. Thwaites gave the Illinois State Historical Society its first annual address. This address was most helpful to the young Society, and was much appreciated by its early officers and members.

Dr. Thwaites was president of the American Library Association in 1900, a member of the American Historical Association, a member of the American Antiquarian Society, and many other historical and scientific associations. He was an honorary member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY.

No. 1. *A Bibliography of Newspapers Published in Illinois prior to 1860. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., professor in the University of Chicago; assisted by Milo J. Loveless, graduate student in the University of Chicago. 94 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1899.

No. 2. *Information Relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois, passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., 15 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1899.

No. 3. *The Territorial Records of Illinois. Edited by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., professor in the University of Chicago, 170 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1901.

No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D., secretary of the society. 55 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetic Catalog of the Books, Manuscripts, Pictures and Curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles and Subjects. Compiled under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Library, by the librarian, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1900.

No. 6. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1901. 122 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1901.

No. 7. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1902. 246 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1902.

No. 8. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1903. 376 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1904.

No. 9. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1904. 701 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1904.

No. 10. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1905. 500 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1906.

No. 11. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1906. 437 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1906.

No. 12. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1907. 436 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1908.

No. 13. Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Year 1908. 383 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1909.

Nos. 14, 15, 16, Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the Years 1909, 1910, 1911.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 1. Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 642 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 2. Virginia series, Vol. 1. Edited by Clarence W. Alvord. CLVI and 663 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, Ill., 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 3. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Lincoln Series, Vol. 1. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D., 627 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, Ill., 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 4. Executive Series, Vol. 1. The Governors' Letter-Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. XXXII and 317 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, Ill., 1909.

*Out of print.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 5. Virginia Series, Vol. II. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790. Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord. L and 681 pages, 8 vo., Springfield. Ill., 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical Series, Vol. I. Newspapers and Periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. CIV and 610 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections. Vol. VII. Executive Series, Vol. II. Governors' Letter-Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. CXVIII and 469 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1911.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers, 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. CLXVII and 715 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1912.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. I, No. 1, Sept., 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord, University of Illinois. 38 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. 1, No. 2, June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois. 34 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. 1, No. 1, Nov., 1905. An outline for the study of Illinois State history. Compiled under the direction of the Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, by Jessie Palmer Weber, Librarian of the Illinois State Historical Library and Secretary of the Illinois State Historical Society, assisted by Georgia L. Osborne, assistant Librarian. 94 pages, 8 vo., Springfield, 1905.

Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society. Vol. I, April, 1909, to Vol. 6, No. 3, Oct., 1913.

Numbers of the Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society out of print, Vols. I, II, III, IV.

*Out of Print.

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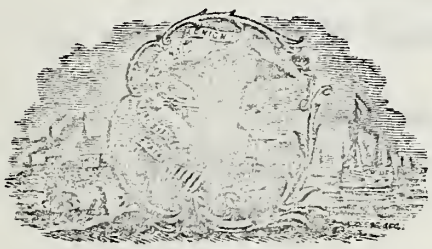
Illinois State Historical Society



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AN OLD TENNESSEE DEED

ANDREW JACKSON TO THOMAS GALLAHER
MARCH 26, 1801

HUGH L. WHITE AND ABRAHAM LINCOLN

By John M. Lansden, of Cairo, Illinois

In 1833, Thomas Gallaher removed from his farm near Kingston, Roane County, Tennessee, to a farm he purchased near the village of Berlin, Sangamon County, Illinois, in what was then and is now the Island-Grove neighborhood. His farm adjoined the Yates farm on the west, both adjoining on the north the old and present well known public road from Springfield to Jacksonville. Just a little further west and on both sides of that highway, lay the farms of the widely known families of James N. Brown and James D. Smith. Nicolay and Hay, speaking of that time in Mr. Lincoln's life, say that he was a farm hand on Mr. Brown's farm for a time and that he surprised Peter Cartwright by his ability to argue with him. That was in the Kentucky belt of Illinois, within which were also a great many Tennesseeans. While I speak more fully of Mr. Gallaher further along, I may here state, incidentally, that he was born in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, February 19, 1764, and that he was the father of three Presbyterian ministers—the Rev. James Gallaher, of St. Charles, Missouri, chaplain to the House of Representatives at Washington in the early fifties, and the author of two or three interesting books; the Rev. William G. Gallaher, long a well known resident of Jacksonville; and the Rev. Allen G. Gallaher, also of Missouri. The Hon. Andrew Russel is a grandson of William G. Gallaher and a great-grandson of Thomas Gallaher. The Gallahers were Scotch-Irish people from the County of Londonderry, or of Antrim, from the latter of which the father and mother of Andrew Jackson came.

James Gallaher, his wife, and Thomas and six other sons and two daughters, removed from Cumberland County, Penn-

sylvania, to the western district or territory of North Carolina, now constituting the State of Tennessee, probably in the year 1783, or about the close of the War of the Revolution. They selected for their western home a place seven or eight miles southeast of Jonesboro, in what is now Washington County, Tennessee. The will of James Gallaher, now of record at Jonesboro, bears date September 22, 1791, and describes his home place as *his plantation on the Nolachucky River.* It was in the immediate vicinity of the old Salem Church and Washington College, both established in the year 1780 by the celebrated Dr. Samuel Doke.

In all that region of country then, the Indians were an ever present menace. The settlers complained grievously of their neglect by the North Carolina authorities and the authorities of the general government. This feeling of neglect, or seeming abandonment, became so strong and so widespread that it resulted in an attempt by them to establish a state of their own. They prepared and set up for operation all the machinery they thought necessary for a state government such as their great and pressing needs required. The ordinance they adopted November 14, 1785, as their organic law or constitution, gave the name "Frankland" to their state. It is often spoken of as the state of "Franklin," after whom the state was named.

These were indeed stirring times in that region, and the Gallaher family seems to have arrived there in the midst of the prevailing excitement attended upon the rebellion against and secession from the old North State. *See* Haywood's, Ramsay's, Phelan's and Allison's histories of Tennessee, Roosevelt's Winning of the West, and Wheeler's History of North Carolina.

The Holston-Cherokee Indian treaty of July 2, 1791, afterward supplemented by another of October 2, 1798, threw open for settlement a large district of country, of which the village of Knoxville was probably the center, and thither set in a great stream of emigrants from western Virginia and North Carolina points, as well as from the extreme eastern parts of what is now the State of Tennessee. Among these emigrants were the Gallaher brothers—Thomas, George, James and David—sons of James Gallaher, who had died on his plantation on the Nolachucky late in 1791, or early in 1792. All of them purchased lands on or near Clinch and Tennessee rivers and not many miles from their junction. The farm of Thomas lay on the

east branch of Big Poplar Creek, and near its junction with Clinch River and the latter's junction with the Tennessee River. He had arrived in the neighborhood in December, 1798, and it is said that on or about the day of his arrival he carved his name and the date, December 24, 1798, on a large beech tree standing on the bank of the creek, and that the carving was still there long after he removed to Illinois in 1833. The house he built on the farm is still standing with an addition or two, but substantially as he left it in that year. It is now owned by Mrs. T. J. Russel, a daughter of Thomas Gallaher, a nephew of the elder Thomas Gallaher, to whom he sold it on his removal to Illinois. So it is, the old place is yet, after 115 years, in the hands of one of the Gallahers.

The title to the land Thomas Gallaher purchased in 1798 was subsequently found to be defective, clouded by those noted land frauds which had been committed against the state of North Carolina and of which there are many and full accounts in Tennessee histories. Those frauds had a wide effect upon the influence and fortunes of a number of public men in that part of the state.

Andrew Jackson was born in South Carolina, March 15, 1767; was for a short time, and when but a youth, in the War of the Revolution; admitted to the bar at Salisbury, North Carolina, in 1787, in his twentieth year; went west from there to Jonesboro with Judge McNairy in 1788; admitted to the bar at Jonesboro the same year, remained there but a short time and then went on west to the Nashville settlement on the Cumberland River and some 280 miles from Jonesboro; was prosecuting attorney for some years; became Tennessee's first Representative in the Lower House of Congress in 1796, the year the state was admitted into the Union; appointed United States Senator in 1797, resigned the office in 1798 to accept a position on the state supreme bench, a position he held for six years; became major-general of the state's militia, a position greatly desired by him and Sevier; became a great Indian fighter before and during the War of 1812; came down the Cumberland and Ohio rivers in January, 1813, with fourteen hundred soldiers in flatboats and landing at and camping on the present site of Cairo, January 27, to await the passing of the ice in the Mississippi, and thence on to Natchez where his troops were ordered disbanded, then back into Tennessee by land and the commencement of his campaign against the Creek Indians which ended

with the crushing blow he gave them March 27, 1814, at the battle of the Horseshoe, and thence on southward with his Tennessee and Kentucky soldiers to fight the battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815, and then on and on to the Presidency.

Returning now to Gallaher, we have to say that Jackson, in the discharge of his duties as Judge of the Supreme Court, rode the circuit, always on horseback, of course. It is said he passed over the road from Nashville to Jonesboro, a distance of two hundred and eighty miles, more than a score of times. This road lay through Lebanon, the Gallaher and Kingston neighborhoods, Knoxville and Greenville. He had been acquainted with the Gallaher family at Jonesboro and on his trips from Nashville to Jonesboro he sometimes stopped at the home of Thomas Gallaher on Poplar Creek. On one of these occasions the matter of the cloud on the title of Mr. Gallaher's lands was mentioned. Jackson was led to make inquiries concerning the matter, and having been told from whom the title was obtained, he assured Mr. Gallaher that he knew all about those lands and the condition of their respective titles. We do not know what course Jackson took nor how much interest, if any at all, he actually had in the lands, but either upon that occasion or an early subsequent one he told Mr. Gallaher that if he would bring to him at Knoxville a good horse, he would make him a deed to his 300 acres of the land and that he need have no further concern or fear about his title thereto. Gallaher was to take the horse to Knoxville for delivery to Jackson, and this having been done, Jackson executed and delivered to Gallaher the following described deed, *as now found of record, with its spelling, punctuation, capitals, etc.:*

"This Indenture made this twenty-sixth day of march one thousand Eight hundred & one between Andrew Jackson of the County of Davedson and State of Tennessee of the one part and Thomas Gallaher of the County of Knox and State aforesaid of the other part Witnesseth that the said Andrew Jackson for and in Consideration of the Sum of one hundred dollars to him in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby acknowledged hath and by these present doth grant bargin and Sell aleen in feoff and Confirm unto the Said Thomas Gallaher his heirs and assigns for Ever a Certain tract or parcel of land lying and being in the (Now) County of Knox Containing three hundred acres

be the same more or less lying on poplar Creek above the ridge and being part of a one thousand acre survey Granted to Stockley donelson by patent No. 8 and dated the Eleventh day of July one thousand Seven hundred & Eighty Eight and bounded as follows to wit..Beginning at two Small white oakes on the line of Said one thousand acre Survey; thence North forty five degrees East two hundred and forty poles to two Hickoreys and a Red oake thence North forty five degrees west two hundred poles to a white oake on the line of an other Survey thence South forty degrees west two hundred & forty poles to a Hickorey and Small pine thence a derict line to the Beginning with all and Singular the woods watters watter Courses proffits Commodeties hereditiments and appurtainenets whatsoever belonging appertaining to the Said tract of land and the reversion & reversions and remainder & remainders rents and issues thereof and all the EState right tittle Intrest property Claim and demand of him the said Andrew Jackson his heirs and assigns forever of in and to the Same and Everey part and parsell thereoff Either in law or Equity to have and to hold the Said three hundred acres of land with the appurtenances unto the said Thomas Gallaher his heirs and assigns for Ever against the lawfull tittle Claim and demand of all and Everey person or persons whatsoever Claiming or to Claim under him the said Andrew Jackson or his heirs or assigns but it is expressley understood that the Said Andrew Jackson is not boundin any other manner than to warrent and defend as afforesaid in witness whereof the said Andrew Jackson hath hearunto Set his hand and Seal the day and year afforesaid

ANDREW JACKSON [SEAL]

JOHN MCCLELLAN

— —

Knoxville March 26th 1801 I do hereby acknowledge to have recd. a horse at one hundred dollars the Consideration within mentioned and it is the true intent and meaning of the within Speseal warrenty that If the land is taken by any other Claim that then I am to restore to the Said Thomas Gallaher that amount in a horse

ANDREW JACKSON

JOHN MCCLELLAN

State of Tennessee

This day Andrew Jackson within and above named appeared personaly before me Hugh L. white one of the Judges of the Superior Courts of Law and Equity in and for the State aforesaid and acknowledged that he Signed Sealed and delivered the within deed of Conveyance and the above instrument of writing for the purpous in them Expressed

Let them be Regestered on paying the Tax

October 1th 1801

H. L. WHITE.

Roane County
March Session 1802

the within mentioned tax is paid Let it be Registered Henry Breazeale Clerk of Roane County

The within deed of Conveyance is Registered in the Registers office of Roane County in Book A No. 16 this first day of october one thousand Eight hundred and two by me

JOHN STONE
Register of Roane County

State of Tennessee
Roane County

I, James A. Blye, Register of Roane County do hereby certify that the above is a true and perfect copy of the deed from Andrew Jackson to Thomas Gallaher as the same appears of record in my office in Deed Book A Series 1 Page 31 et seq.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and official seal at office in Kingston, Tenn., this Aug. 25" 1913.

JAMES A. BLYE *Register*

(Seal) By J. M. HARTLEY *Deputy Register.*

The above deed was a mere quit-claim deed and bound Jackson only for the value of an hundred dollar horse; but it may be that Jackson knew the circumstances of the situation so well that he could assure Gallaher that he would not be molested. Some of those circumstances were these: Stokeley Donelson, from whom Gallaher purchased, was a brother-in-law of Jackson and was among those whom Jackson, as prosecuting attorney, was prosecuting for complicity in those land frauds above mentioned. *See* Bassett's Life of Jackson, vol. I, pp. 58-59; Doubleday, Page & Co., 1911.

Thomas and James Gallaher had been with General Sevier in two or three of his expeditions against the Cherokees and had become strongly attached to him. James had become a major in the service and the choosing of the major-general was to be made by the majors and other field officers above them. James was in great doubt as to whether he should vote for Sevier or Jackson; but his remembrance of what the latter had done for his brother Thomas decided his choice, and Jackson was chosen. Many of the Gallahers have claimed that without James' vote Sevier and not Jackson would have been chosen, and that in this way James' vote had much to do with Jackson's subsequent advancement in public notice and favor and his rise to the highest position in our country. This account, I am very sure, is much more than a family tradition; but it is proper to say that other accounts are given as to how this choice between Jackson and Sevier for the major-generalship was determined.

Hugh Lawson White, before whom Jackson acknowledged the above deed, was born in Iredell County, North Carolina, in 1773. He removed to Knox County, Tennessee, in 1786; was Judge of the Supreme Court six years; succeeded Jackson in the United States Senate in 1825; was chosen president of the Senate; broke with Jackson, who said he was a Federalist; voted against Benton's resolution to expunge the Senate's censure of Jackson for his suspension of the writ of habeas corpus at New Orleans; was a candidate for the Presidency in 1836; received the vote of Abraham Lincoln at New Salem, and the votes of Tennessee and Georgia in the electoral college: White 26 votes, VanBuren 170, Harrison 73, Webster 14, and Mangum 11. White carried Tennessee with the whole power of Jackson's administration used against him.

Lincoln voted for White at New Salem, Sangamon County, November 7, 1836. A letter, written by him at New Salem, June 13, 1836, to the State Journal at Springfield, closes with this declaration: "If alive on the first Monday of November, I shall vote for Hugh L. White for President." The presidential elections were held at that time on the first Monday of November. Just why Mr. Lincoln chose White instead of Harrison or Webster we do not know. He had no use for Jackson, and he may have thought that to defeat VanBuren, Jackson's chosen candidate, would be the worst kind of a

defeat for Old Hickory. White resigned his seat in the Senate rather than obey the instructions of his legislature to vote for a measure he strongly disapproved.

The above mentioned letter to the State Journal was written just two weeks after Mr. Lincoln had ceased to be postmaster at New Salem. The records at Washington show that he was postmaster there, under Jackson, from May 7, 1833, to May 30, 1836, when the office was discontinued and merged in the office at Petersburg. He had been appointed by William T. Barry, of Kentucky, Jackson's postmaster-general, and the first postmaster-general who obtained a seat in the cabinet.

I have said Lincoln had no use for Jackson; no whig had; Jackson had removed so many of them from office. The New Salem post-office was too small for much notice; besides, all the democrats in that precinct were for Lincoln for whatever he wanted. From Washington to Jackson, almost 40 years, there had been but 75 removals from office, but Jackson made 2,000 removals his first year. He seems to have adopted Governor Marcy's political aphorism that "to the victor belong the spoils." Jackson had been a soldier and much of the soldier spirit went with him into the presidency. Clay had no use for Jackson, nor had Jackson any for Clay. Had not Clay interfered, Jackson would have settled secession 40 years earlier and we would have had no great war, no President Lincoln and no General Grant, but we would still have had slavery, I suppose. South Carolina had aroused the soldier spirit in Jackson, and adopting as he did Webster's exposition of the constitution, he declared that war would follow the attempt of the state to nullify an act of Congress or to secede from the Union. But Clay, Lincoln's political idol, interfered, and South Carolina claimed a victory. It was indeed a victory for the right of nullification and the broader right of secession. Secession had its origin in Jefferson's opposition to Hamilton's and Marshall's Federalistic views of the constitution. It had its first full and clear expression in Jefferson's Kentucky Resolutions of 1799. Hayne and Calhoun simply elaborated Jefferson's propositions, just as Webster had elaborated Hamilton's and Marshall's views; but Webster so expanded or expounded the Federal theory that it looked like something entirely new.

South Carolina, 30 years afterward, remembering her success against that iron hearted and iron headed president, felt sure of success against the civilian Abraham Lincoln, and pushing the controversy into actual war, she lost the whole scheme or system of constitutional secession, and with its loss she lost, also, and for the whole south, slavery itself. If Jackson, like David, was a man of war, and could not be allowed to build the temple—build it on a surer foundation—it may have been because the fulness of the time had not yet come; that is to say, that the work was to be left to a later age and to be done by a different man, to the end that the cause and the cause of the cause might both pass away at one and the same time.

These two views of the constitution were largely of Virginia origin. Woodrow Wilson, in his great history, speaks of Jefferson's first inauguration and says: "John Marshall, the new Chief Justice, twelve years his junior, administered the oath; and the two men, as they stood thus face to face, Virginians both, bred in the same principles of life and courtesy, but opposite in every principle of politics, must have seemed to give each his silent challenge to the future in the act."

MARKING THE SITE OF OLD FORT ST. JOSEPH

*M. M. Quaife, Lewis Institute, Chicago

When the boundaries of New France were extended over the Mississippi Valley, in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, one of the principal highways by which the French passed from the Great Lakes to the Mississippi was by way of the St. Joseph River to the Kankakee Portage, and thence down that stream and the Illinois to the Father of Waters. This was the favorite route of LaSalle between the Great Lakes and the Mississippi, and in his first entrance to the Illinois country in 1679, he constructed Fort Miami at the mouth of the St. Joseph-Kankakee highway. The story of Fort Miami, like the annals of the poor, is short and simple. The year following its construction, it was destroyed by some of LaSalle's own mutinous men. LaSalle shortly had a second fort constructed on its site, but it was maintained for only a few years. Yet the brief existence of Fort Miami gave rise to two cardinal historical errors, each of which enjoyed a much longer lease of life than the ill-fated fort itself. The first of these identified Fort Miami with the site of the future Chicago, and was a potent factor in the growth of the tradition, still more or less credited, of a French fort at Chicago in the latter part of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries.[1] The second error confused the site of Fort Miami with its longer-lived successor at the southeast corner of Lake Michigan, Fort St. Joseph.

The obscurity which has so long attended the site of Fort St. Joseph, for almost a century one of the important centers of trade and control of the Great Lakes region, is somewhat puzzling. Even Parkman, the learned historian of Pontiac's conspiracy, and of new France in general, locates it at the mouth of the St. Joseph River, thus confusing it with the site

*Mr. Quaife is now superintendent of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

[1] On the subject of a French fort at Chicago, see Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 42-50.

of Fort Miami. Yet there are maps and records in abundance which establish at least the broad fact that Fort St. Joseph was a considerable distance inland at a point not far from the portage to the Kankakee.[1] Later, students did not fail to notice this, but there was still confusion as to the exact site of Fort St. Joseph. Consul W. Butterfield placed it in northern Indiana, about two miles below South Bend.[2] The late Dr. Thwaites for long agreed with Butterfield,[3] although he seems ultimately to have adopted the view now commonly accepted, that the actual site of the fort was within the present limits of the town of Niles, Michigan.[4]

The confusion of the general public concerning a point in northwestern history, about which men like these were in error, requires no explanation. The present writer does not assume to say who first pointed out in print the true location of Fort St. Joseph.[5] Whoever it was, the real credit for the discovery belongs to a little group of residents of Niles, who were imbued alike with a love for nature and for local history. For a number of years these enthusiasts pursued their walks and explorations in search of Indian relics and other historical remains. At length four of them united, for the further pursuit of their avocation, under the name of the Society of the Miami Cross.[6] This name was derived from the double fact of the former residence of the Miami Indians in the vicinity and the presence of a large wooden cross which still stands on a slight bluff immediately in the rear of the fort site. Local tradition recites that the first settlers in this locality, in the early nineteenth century, found a similar cross standing in this place, and as often as it has decayed since then, it has been replaced by a new one. The miniature society took for its badge a round silver device made from a stone mould found across the river from the fort, which is supposed to have been used by some early trader to manufacture base metal medals to trade

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[1] For a number of references on this point, see *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XI, 178, n. 5, McCoy, "Old Fort St. Joseph," in *Michigan Pioneer Collections*, XXXV, 545-552; Mason, *Chapters from Illinois History*, 298.

[2] *Magazine of Western History*, III, 447.

[3] At least from 1888 until 1904. See *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XI, 115, 178-179, notes, and *Jesuit Relations*, LXVI, 348, n. 48.

[4] Thwaites, *France in America*, 290; *Early Western Travels*, I, 117, n. 85.

[5] Two such references, each of scholarly character, are Baker, *St. Joseph-Kankakee Portage*, South Bend, 1899, 43, and Mason, *op cit*, 298.

[6] The four founders of the society were Prof. E. H. Crane, Hillis Smith, E. D. Lombard, and L. H. Beeson.

to the Indians. A more unique organization than the Society of the Miami Cross would be difficult to find in all America; and it were to be wished that in every place throughout the West men imbued with similar zeal for the cause of local history might be found.

The exploring expeditions carried on by the little group of enthusiasts established with seeming conclusiveness the exact site of Fort St. Joseph. Tomahawks, beads, military buttons, hand-made nails, and in short all the characteristic debris to be expected in such a place, were found in astonishing abundance in a plot of ground a few acres in extent, on the bank of the river about one-fourth of a mile north of the southern boundary of the town.[1] Nowhere else along the St. Joseph have such remains been found in any quantity, and this fact, taken in connection with the other one, abundantly established by the early records, that the fort was located somewhere in the vicinity of the portage, is taken to establish the exact location of the fort.

Two years ago, Mr. Lewis H. Beeson, of Niles, conducted the writer to the site of Fort St. Joseph, and related many interesting stories concerning the local traditions, and the activities of the group of local collectors. A prized memento of this visit is a scalping-knife from Mr. Beeson's own large and important collection. Incidentally, an inspection of this helped to settle a point then troubling the writer concerning the Indian trade. When, in 1822, Senator Benton of Missouri made his assault in the Senate upon the government factory system, one of his principal charges was that the goods selected for the trade by the superintendent were in general unsuitable. Upon one item in the invoice of the previous year for the chain of government factories, eight gross of jew's-harps, the speaker fairly exhausted his well-known powers of sarcasm and invective. Yet the jew's-harp was a common article of the Indian trade, and Mr. Beeson has in his collection from the site of Fort St. Joseph alone, several dozens of them.

The awakening interest locally in the historic associations connected with the city's past, crystallized about two years ago in the determination on the part of a few public-spirited women to erect a permanent memorial to mark the site of the ancient

[1] Mr. Lewis H. Beeson tells me that when Edward G. Mason, an acknowledged authority on the French period of Northwestern history, visited Niles and was shown some of the local collections of Indian relics, he found no words to express his amazement at their abundance.

stronghold. A large boulder, "probably the largest pebble in southern Michigan,"[1] resting a few miles south of the place, was selected for the marker. By art exhibits, rummage sales, solicitation of funds, and the various methods known to determined women, the sum needed for the work, about $1,000.00, was raised. On July 4, 1913, in the presence of a large crowd of people, with appropriate ceremonies, the marker was unveiled,[2] revealing this inscription:

FORT
ST. JOSEPH
1697-1781

The ceremonies were conducted by the Fort St. Joseph Historical Society, which was organized for the purpose of perpetuating the memory of the stronghold whose name it bears.[3]

It is aside from the purpose of the present article to narrate the history of Fort St. Joseph, yet a few words may be said by way of indicating its dramatic character. The dates on the marker are intended to indicate the beginning and end of St. Joseph as a military station, but as a missionary station it began earlier, and as a trading center lasted longer. For two-thirds of a century, the Lilies of France floated over the fort, then at the close of the Seven Years' War, the red cross of St. George took their place. Before long the dread conspiracy of Pontiac was consummated, and Fort St. Joseph supplied one chapter in the lurid drama. In less time than it takes to tell of it the little British garrison was slaughtered, only the commander and three of his men being spared.

With British control reëstablished in the Northwest, St. Joseph continued to be an important trading center, and when the Revolution came, it once more acquired military importance, At various times in the long see-saw contest between George Rogers Clark, operating from the Illinois country, and the British from Mackinac and Detroit, for the control of the Northwest, St. Joseph became a factor in the situation. Late

[1] Estimated to weigh seventy tons.

[2] It should be noted that the marker does not stand on the exact site of the fort, since this is now covered with water, due to the building of a dam across the St. Joseph for power development purposes.

[3] The names of the following officials of the Society, who took a prominent part in the work for which it was created, should be recorded: Mrs. John Ferguson, president; Mrs. Ralph Ballard, vice-president; Miss Sarah Machin, treasurer; and Mrs. George E. Gillam, secretary.

in 1780, the place was plundered by a band of American raiders from Cahokia, but the marauders were promptly pursued and practically wiped out in a battle which occurred a short distance southeast of Chicago.

The military annals of Fort St. Joseph conclude with perhaps the most dramatic incident in all its history. In this same year of 1780, the British made a formidable attack upon St. Louis, then the Spanish capital of upper Louisiana. Beaten off the first time, they set about making preparations for a more vigorous assault the following year, and in this connection gathered a supply of corn at St. Joseph. Profiting, possibly, by the example set by George Rogers Clark in the capture of Vincennes, the Spanish governor at St. Louis determined to anticipate the blow. On January 2, 1781, a little Spanish expedition set out from St. Louis, and after a midwinter march of 400 miles across the wilderness, fell suddenly on the unsuspecting settlement of St. Joseph and subjected it to a second plundering. During the brief stay of the invaders, the Spanish flag floated over St. Joseph, and the ceremony of taking possession of the place in the name of the King of Spain was gone through. The exploit of the Spaniards, while daring enough, has acquired a fame out of all proportion to its real importance, by reason of the part it played in the diplomatic battle for the possession of the Northwest in the peace negotiations of 1783.

In conclusion, I desire to call attention to a source which sheds light on the question of the location of Fort St. Joseph, which has, so far as I am aware, been unknown hitherto to students of the subject. In the Chicago Historical Society library is a manuscript, yellow with age, entitled "William Johnston's notes of a tour from Fort Wayne to Chicago, June, 1809." Fifteen miles below the forks of the Elkhart and St. Joseph rivers, the traveler came to a French trading station, the activities of whose inmates he describes with some detail. Evidently this station was "Parc aux vaches," where the Detroit-Chicago trail crossed the St. Joseph.[1] Three miles below this place, the traders informed Johnston, were the remains of a British post, where there was still a fine apple orchard. From "Parc aux vaches" to the spot marked as the site of Fort St. Joseph is, according to modern surveys, a distance of a little

[1] John Kinzie lived here before his removal to Chicago in 1804. Today the site is occupied by the hamlet of Bertrand, about three miles south of Niles.

over two and three-fourths miles in a straight line. Thus the statement recorded by Johnston is in substantial agreement with the evidence afforded by the explorations of the group of modern investigators as to the location of Fort St. Joseph.

Statement of Mr. Lewis H. Beeson to the writer. I take this opportunity to record my obligation to Mr. Beeson for much of the information on which this article is based.

AN INTERESTING ACCOUNT OF THE BATTLE OF MISSIONARY RIDGE

By John S. Roper

Alton, Illinois, Nov. 6, 1913.

Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Secretary Illinois State Historical Society, Springfield, Illinois.

Dear Madam: Through the kindness of my brother, Mr. J. D. Roper, of Springfield, Illinois, I am handing you a "photostat" copy of a letter (or "Journal," as I then termed it) written at Chattanooga, Tenn., during the progress of, and following the battle of, Missionary Ridge, November 22–26, 1863. At this time I was a civilian clerk for my brother, Major George S. Roper, deceased, who was then attached to the staff of Genl. John M. Brannon, Chief of Artillery, Department of the Cumberland. I had been employed in this capacity with my brother since he first entered the army as a commissary of subsistence in 1861, when he was assigned to the Staff of Genl. Geo. H. Thomas, then stationed at Crab Orchard, Ky. The headquarters of Genl. Brannon and his Staff in Chattanooga were not a great distance from Fort Wood. On account of my being Major Roper's brother and also as acting caterer for our Mess, I perhaps enjoyed privileges and opportunities for seeing and hearing things that otherwise I would not have had. When the "Journal" was written I sent it to brother Denney in Springfield, Ill., and he noted thereon a recent interesting event in his own family, and forwarded it to our sister Adaline and our mother in Ligonier, Pa., our old home, and where the writer was born. Sister Adaline died in Ligonier during the month of February last, and my son, D. W. Roper, of Chicago, went there to attend her funeral (as I was unable to do so), and afterwards he, together with brother Denney's daughter, Mrs. Charlotte A. Peterson, whose home is in Ligonier, in looking over their Aunt Adaline's effects came across this "Journal" and later returned it to

me. I am thus particular in setting forth the circumstances and conditions under which this "Journal" was written, and how it came to light again after so many years, thinking you might want this information for your personal satisfaction, and to assist you in answering any questions regarding it, should you be called upon to do so. Have also attached some notes or explanations, words dropped and sentences incomplete, that may assist in making it better understood. As to some opinions expressed and moralizing indulged in, you will kindly remember that all this was written by a boy, who had just passed his majority, to his brother at home, without any thought of the later resurrection thereof. As to some of the spelling[1] and grammar, I will go back to one of my early declamations and quote:

"Don't view me with a critic's eye,
But pass my imperfections by."

Very respectfully yours,
JOHN S. ROPER,

Alton, Illinois.

LETTER WRITTEN DURING BATTLE OF MISSIONARY RIDGE.

HEAD QUARTERS CHIEF OF ARTILLERY D. C.,
CHATTANOOGA, TENN.

Nov. 23d, 1863.

It has just occured to me this evening that a little "Journal" of this, and the next few days might be interesting to myself—possibly so, to some of my freinds at home. About two o'clock this afternoon my attention was attracted by the more than usual fireing from Fort Wood, which is on the left of our line, about a quarter of a mile from the river.—On going out there I found that our Infantry, Genl. Gordon Grangers Corps, (the 4th) was advancing in line of battle with their left, right in front of Fort Wood, while from the Fort, the thirtytwo pounders and the little ten pound Rodmans were shelling the rebels out of the woods in front. The other forts along the line towards the right were also doing considerable fireing, while the 14th army[2] corps were lying about half a mile out beyond their breast-

[1] The spelling of the original letter has been exactly followed.
[2] 14th Army corps, formerly commanded by Gen. Geo. H. Thomas, now under command of Gen. John M. Palmer.

work. The 4th Corps had already advanced pretty well when I arrived at the Fort, while the 11th Corps were lying in a mass to the right of the Fort. I could hear our men cheering as they would make a charge, and the quick sharp cracking of the muskets showed they were having pretty warm work in the belt of woods which runs along at the foot of Mission ridge.—In a few minutes a couple of horsemen come dashing furiously by Fort Wood, from the front, and ride along to the 11th Corps, then comes the order to "fall in"—and off they march—a solid mass of blue, their bright guns and bayonets sparkling in the occasional ray which old sol throws out. Oh, there's something magnificent grand, about a body of Union troops. How finely they contrast with those Rebels (about 150),[1] that are being brought along from the front—there they have to stop in the road until the remainder of the 11th Corps gets by, the contrast in their dress is rather laughable while they are near together—the "Gray Back" and "Blue Back"—jokeing with each other,—Now the 11th Corps begins to get into action in the front, they are in line of battle right in front and to the left of Fort Wood in an open field—skirmishers advancing slowly towards the woods, the line of battle following them. Their left just reaches the Knoxville railroad—ah, there goes two or three rebels across the track, they fire on our men (skirmishers) who return the fire and lay down to load;—now theyre up and at them—standing right out in the open field—it takes nerve to stand up and be shot at in that way; now a part of them make for the strip of woods on the left at double quick, the whole line following up rapidly—The men on their right at the white houses, begin to advance into the woods, they are soon most all out of sight but the fireing is rapid—occasionally a whole volley. Now the men who first went in (the right of the 11th Corps) are seen in the first open field in the woods, while the rebels open a brisk fire on them from a line of their rifle pits.—I am not fortunate enough to have a glass now, and at the distance they have now got it is hard to tell much about their movements with the naked eye. But they have established a line, fully a mile beyond where our pickets were, and are maintaining it. In the meantime, the 4th Corps has not been idle, on their right they have planted a battery on the "brush knob" and are throwing some shell towards the rebel lines—the main body of our

[1] Captured prisoners.

infantry lying along behind the crest of the knoll, on another knoll to the left of the former our signal station is established, communicating with one in this fort. Genls. Grant, Thomas, and Howard, with their staffs, have been here at the fort but left about the time the 11th Corps moved out, The rebels are moving large columns of troops along the crest of the ridge to our left, they seem to know what we are up to exactly.

About four o'clock the rebels open from about six batteries along the crest of Mission Ridge, some of their shells exploding near, and on the hill where our signal station is, one came clear over to the white house in front of us, about half a mile—a great many of them, however do not explode at all.—Our guns are not replying.—About fifteen minutes before five, Fort Wood opens towards the left. I would not call it any of the finest practice, as less than half the shell explode; the shells from one of the large guns go wabling along—a cush—a cush—a cush—cush, cush, cush—making a noise very much like a heavily loaded Locomotive starting off.—This has been a reconnaisance, but will no doubt bring on a general engagement tomorrow. A heavy rise has come down the river today, breaking our pontoon bridges, now the question is: can Sherman get across? for the plan is for him to cross about six miles above here and get on to the end of Mission ridge. Besides, the rebels undoubtedly know of his whereabouts and intentions, and will oppose his crossing. I dont think our troops in front will attempt to take Mission Ridge by storming it—so altogether things, to me, look rather bad. Had this movement been made Saturday morning as was first intended, we might have surprised the enemy but now they see our whole plans, and will be prepared to meet us—May the God of Battles be with us—Good night—

Tuesday morning Nov. 24th, 7 o'clock—

A rather damp, drizling rain falling. Capt. Lambert (A. A. G.) told of the following incident at the breakfast table. He rode out with Genl. Brannan, about twelve o'clock last night, to inspect out lines, and get some batteries in position, as they were returning by Fort Wood, all was quiet and still—the men were lying under the guns fast asleep—one solitary figure, alone stood on the parapet, with arms folded—gazing out on the moonlit scene before him—on coming nearer—they found it to be no less a personage than Maj. Genl. Geo. H. Thomas.

Went out to Fort Wood—the general point of observation—about ten o'clock A. M. Could see our men moving forward, occasionally skirmishing, but as a general thing, matters have been rather quiet thus far on the left,—the time has mostly been occupied in manouvering for positions, some shelling & c. Rebels can still be seen moving their troops from (their)[1] left to right, evidently massing their forces there. Officers in the Fort say their columns have been moving that way ever since Sunday. From the Fort we can see the steamboat "Dunbar" ferrying Sherman's troops across the river above here. I came back to quarters about noon, and just then heavy cannonading commenced on our right—"Fighting Joe"[2] is after Lookout mountain.—Soon the musketry commenced, at first slowly, then volley after volley was poured in, occasionally the cheers of the men could be heard as they made a charge. Of this I could see nothing save the bursting of shells, which Hooker was pouring in from his batteries, assisted by our batteries on Mocasin Point. The fighting continued hard for about an hour, then I could see our men coming across the "nose" of Lookout, driving the rebels out of their rifle pits, which run along in front of the white house on the side of the mountain, and by the aid of a glass which I then obtained I could see them advancing on beyond the rifle pits driving the rebels before them. They afterwards fell back to the rifle pits where they remained, until the fog or mist again threw a vail over Lookout., shutting off our view from here.—Gen. Brannan and Staff have just come in (2 P. M.) and I learn that Rousseau's old Division has orders to move out when Hooker succeeds on the mountain, and now as I write I can hear them down about the mouth of Chattanooga creek; the shell are flying fast while the musketry keeps up a continual rattle—of this I can see nothing for the fog. When our men gained the side of the mountain the rebel battery on the (top of the mountain) was of no account to them as the guns could not be depressed enough to reach our men (on account of) that ledge of rocks some fifty feet or more high. The Rebels are evidently rather puzled by this movement, which has been thus

[1] It was current talk that Gen. Bragg was trying to mislead Gen. Thomas by marching his men in a circle, the column going below the crest of the ridge when marching towards our left, going back to the point where they first came in view, and then passing again towards our left, the object being to give to Gen. Thomas the idea that he (Gen. Bragg) was receiving large reinforcements.

[2] Major General Joseph Hooker is referred to.

far about as follows: First Sherman moves up the *North* side of the river to cross, Second our forces make a heavy reconnoisance on our extreme left—the *South* bank of the river withdrawing the 11th Corps from Hooker on our right, and then while they are massing their forces on our *left*, Hooker on the *right* takes Lookout mountain with the 12th Corps. Shermans troops have now all succeeded in crossing the river—capturing nineteen out of the twenty pickets at the mouth of Chickamaugua creek, and will I understand move forward this afternoon. A slow drizling rain is now falling, while the heavy fog or mist prevents me from seeing anything that is going on and so I remain in camp.—The boys down on the right however, about Lookout and Chattanooga creek evidently see something from the noise they keep up, with both Artillery and musketry. Occasionally Fort Wood lets off a big gun. I forgot to mention that the battery of ten pounders was taken out of Fort Wood last night and placed on the bald knob in front of the fort about a half mile, while they are already pretty well fortified.—

9 oclock P. M.—

The pen may be a very potent instrument in some hands in conveying to others our feelings, or in describing things which come under our own observation, but certainly the pen in *my* hand will be utterly unable to convey to any one else, the beautiful and sublime picture now presented on the side of Lookout mountain. I can immagine nothing grand enough to compare it to. It has now cleared off "as clear as a bell" excepting an occasional thin cloud which passes over the face of the moon. The bivouac fires of the 12th Corps are burning brightly commencing on the right just below the ledge of rocks, or point of Lookout, and, from where the rebels are rather around behind the point, and then extending down over the hill to the left as far as I can see from here, making a grand illumination, somewhat resembling an immense torch light procession only on a grander scale.—In front of the line of fires, our own and the rebel pickets keep up a continual fire, for a while it will only be an occasional shot, then it commences faster and faster, till it extends along the whole line, and is kept up briskly for a few minutes, then quiets down again. From our quarters we can see the flash of the guns, and it is evident from them that the two picket lines are quite close together. Things certainly look rather better to night (to me) than they did last night, and

convinces me that I was very much mistaken, and that whoever has laid this plan is rather sharper than I supposed him to be. But I am not the only one that has been fooled, for I think there is one *Mr. Bragg* who is fully as much surprised as any one. The ration question has been troubling me some this afternoon, —have been making some arrangements to send a train[1] to Kelleys Ferry in the morning, but I hope now the boats will run up to Chattanooga, which I presume they will do if the water is high enough for them to get through the "Suck."[2]

I did not have time to go to Fort Wood this afternoon but understand nothing was done only in moving troops. Sherman has got safely across and into position, his right joining Howards (11th Corps) left so that we now have a connected line on the south side of the Tennessee, Hooker commanding the right wing Sherman the left, and the Army of the Cumberland under *Thomas* forming the centre, Sherman's line extends up on to the ridge, flanking the Rebels, and tomorrow we have "a fight or a foot race,"—Thursday, November 26th, 1863.—Last night I wrote a couple of letters (to George and Denney) and had no time to finish my Journal. The 25th day of November 1863, will long be remembered as a glorious day for the Union cause. The Rebel Army under Bragg were completely driven back and routed, our losses at Chickamauga have been nobly avenged in the success of Mission Ridge.—As I heard Genl. Thomas remark to day—"The rebels gave us some hard knocks at Chickamauga, but we were not whipped, but they can claim nothing but a defeat here." I spent most of yesterday in Fort Wood. I was however away a couple of hours—(from about 11 to 1 oclock)—and missed seeing a part of Shermans operations on the left. During the morning of the 25th the great body of our troops were moved from our right centre to our left centre; the rebels having left Lookout, Hooker came down off the mountain moving across the valley towards Mission Ridge. The 3d Division of the 14th Corps was some distance to the left of the fort, another Division of the 14th Corps was still to the left of that with Howard, while the remaining Division still remained in the intrenchments around Chattanooga. About

[1] A train of wagons.

[2] Local name for the rapids on Tennessee River below Chattanooga; a certain stage of river was required to let boats over, and then, as a usual thing, men had to assist by means of a "sweep" on shore to which a line reached from the boat.

eleven oclock Sherman made the attack on the left. His line (including 11th Corps) extended along the foot of the ridge on this side, and clear up over the ridge beyond the crest, so that he was on the rebels right flank. The right of his line was once repulsed, when charging a battery, up hill, through an open field, but they were not disorganized. His troops certainly had a hard time of it for a while, and in all probability he lost half of the entire loss. Musketry fireing was very heavy over the crest of the ridge—not to be seen from Fort Wood. Now six guns are fired from the battery on the knob in rapid succession, the signal for the advance of the centre—The Army of the Cumberland—They were to advance to the rebel rifle pits at the foot of the hill and there rest, as they advanced the crest of Mission Ridge was a blaze of fire from Braggs Head Quarters on the right to near Shermans line on the left, amost terific fire of canister, and shell were now poured into our lines, but our men soon gain the rifle pits at the foot of the hill, but they never stop to rest, I have heard officers say to day that it was impossible to stop the men there—there was no keeping them back, on they went over the rifle pits and up the ridge. The hill is fully half a mile long and very steep. As soon as the line got started up the hill, the rebel batteries could do little or no execution, being right on the top their own breast works prevented the guns being depressed sufficient to reach our men. Hazens Brigade of Woods division, were advancing up one very steep point of a battery rather to the left of Fort Wood, and as I could only follow the movements of one column with the naked eye at that distance I watched that one. I could distinguish the four colors of the four regiments as they climb the hill; at one time one of the colors fell, but it was only for a moment—it was caught up again and borne on,—the ascent was now so steep that the men had to hang on and pull themselves up by the trees and bushes—one color bearer could be seen through a glass, in advance of his regiment, one arm around a saplin, waving the flag for his comrades to come on. This column had marched up by the flank, the hill being so steep that the rebels had mostly shot over them. But now they were near the crest, they formed line of battle (under a galling fire) and started for the rebel works, the rebels now poured in a deadly fire, our men returning it with vigor, for half an hour they stood there pouring in volley after volley, but our line was firm, not an inch did they give, but with a yell they charged

the rebel works and drove them from them, capturing their battery and a good many prisoners driving the remainder down over the hill. This column was the first on top of the hill but the remainder of the line was carried in like manner. The artillery was all silenced except some guns that were captured and turned on the flying enemy.—Genl. Grants dispatch to Sherman about this time was as follows:—"Genl. Thomas has carried the hill capturing their (works) now is your time to press them vigorously—you will do so—" It was now getting dark what fighting was still going on was over the crest of the hill not visible from Fort Wood. So I returned to camp—Hooker, during this time was active, had gained the ridge on the right, beyond Rossville and pressed the enemys left flank—starting his troops along the ridge in three lines, one on this side one on the crest and one on the other side to use his own expression—"combing them out." capturing a large number of prisoners.

I rode out to Mission Ridge today (the 26th) passing over a part of the battle ground. Most of our dead and wounded had already been gathered up, some of the rebel dead still lay on the ground.

The field bore many marks of the labor it required to gain it. Trees were shattered by cannon shot, others were spotted by the musket balls, and the small limbs and bushes were in many places cut off by them. The hill is much steeper than it seemed to be from Fort Wood. Indeed, it would seem incredible, to one who had not seen it, (to) think that men could climb up such a hill, in face of the fire which they were receiving, and not only get up the hill, but, actually drive a force, superior in numbers off of it. For the rebels undoubtedly had, (as I have heard not only Genl. Thomas, but other officers say today) more men in their rifle pits, that we had in charging them.—I examined the point where I had seen Hazens Brigade go up, in the rifle pit right on the point of the hill there still lay about a dozen dead rebels—mostly shot in the head and heart—poor fellows they fought bravely—but for what have they died?—While I was in our old Division (now Genl. Bairds) Genl. Thomas came along. He was heartily cheered all along the line. He stopped and talked with Col. Vandever and others for some ten or fifteen minutes he was in high spirits, talked and joked considerably, he thinks we have captured about five thousand men.—From the top of the ridge we could see the fires rising all along in the wake of the enemys retreat; there was

a large fire at Chickamauga station. They are burning all the stores and store-houses which they had back in the country also all railroad and road bridges. Sherman and Hooker and a portion of Thomas' troops are in pursuit. At noon today the official report of the Artillery taken by the Army of the Cumberland alone, amounted to thirty six peices,—the same number we lost at Chickamauga. I do not know how much has been taken by the other two commands.—Two thirty two pounders are known to have been taken at Chickamauga Station (by Sherman I presume).—Altogether this has been a most complete victory—as Genl. Thomas remarked to day "one of the greatest things every known in war."—Never before was such a hill as Mission Ridge known to have been taken by assault. I heard Genl. Meigs (Q. M. Genl) remark today that he had been over the field of Gettysburg, but there was no such position that had been carried by storming.—The whole plan worked like clock work, there was system about it all,—none of that disorder and confusion that we had at Chickamauga. Even the first day at Chickamauga when we were holding our own, there was great confusion and disorder, and a large amount of stragling,—at this fight I did not see nor have I heard of a man stragling on the contrary every thing was quiet and orderly as on a parade ground. The only confusion was occasioned, in ascending the hill, by the men trying to see who could get to the top first. As I heard an officer remark to day, "the men only wanted some one to tell them where to go and what to do and they would go and do it.."

This is the day appointed by the President, as a day of National Thanksgiving and Prayer, and although many homes have been made desolate, and many hearts will mourn the loss of the fallen heroes, yet as a nation we have great cause to be thankful for the glorious victory we have achieved over the enemys of free government, under whose protection they had gained strength, only to turn and stab the force from whence it came.

John S. Roper.

To Ada.[1]

[1] At the bottom of the page I believe I had written "to Ada" to indicate to brother Denney that I wanted he should forward the letter to sister Adaline and mother in Ligonier, Pa.

PREHISTORIC ILLINOIS—THE GREAT CAHOKIA MOUND

OLD STONE-LINED GRAVE FOUND AT MONK'S MOUND.

Discovery by Owner Proves Prehistoric Race Was Familiar with Cutting of Rock.

T. T. Ramey, of Edwardsville, one of the owners of Monk's Mound, southwest of Edwardsville, recently told for the first time of the most perfect grave which has been opened in the vicinity. Monk's Mound is the center of a group of a hundred smaller mounds, and is believed to have once been the home or place of worship of a race which passed from existence and left no records.

Unlike all other graves, the tomb was entirely lined with flagstones from 1 to 4 inches thick. This disproves the theory that the race was unfamiliar with stone cutting. The discovery caused curiosity to open a small mound west of the big one.

The explorations were made several days ago. The grave was only 3 feet deep. It was 20 inches wide and 6 feet long, and from all indications three or possibly four bodies were buried. In opening the grave it was carefully studied. The bodies were buried exactly north and south, the same position of the oblong mounds.

This discovery has considerable importance from a chronological point of view. Of the Indian tribes occupying the American Bottom in primitive times, the two longest in possession of that region are vaguely known to us by the relics of their arts and customs occasionally found, or still conspicuous, there. The one were the people who built the great mounds in that locality that have so long excited the wonder and interest of antiquarians; and the other, not in the category of mound-builders, distinguished by the peculiar mode of burying their

dead in stone-lined cists. While both were essentially Indians of the same generic type, advancing in culture by slow stages to a higher state, it is certain they differed broadly in many characteristics and methods of life.

They were both semi-sedentary residents there for long periods, depending for subsistence more upon the products of agriculture than of the chase. In their stone implements, pottery and domestic utensils—of equal artistic and mechanical excellence—there are well marked features of dissimilarity, and craniologists have noted a difference in the general conformation of their skulls. But to us, at this late day, the most convincing evidence of their separate identity is seen in the manner of disposing of their dead by the one tribe, and the absence of that mortuary custom by the other. Those burying their dead in the ground in stone-lined graves have been named by archæologists the Stone Grave Indians. Their populous and long established home was in the valleys of the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, where their extensive cemeteries, containing thousands of stone-lined cists, have been discovered and explored.

They were not "familiar with cutting of rock," and had not discovered the use of metals, or attained instruments of any kind capable of *cutting* rock. They employed for the lining and covering of their graves the thin laminiferous flagstones, in their natural state, found in abundance in various localities. The only tool mark discernible on those flagstones was that of the stone hammer. Yet, many of them, shaped by that means, were so neatly fitted and adjusted together as to present the appearance of having been cut, or ground, to conform to each other. Many of the graves were paved on the bottom with large mussel shells, or potsherds, and in many the sides and ends were skillfully lined with closely-fitted fragments of large pottery vessels. Each one was covered with rough broad flagstones.

Tracing the migrations of their colonies by their tribal custom of inhumation, it is known that large bands of them, emerging from middle Tennessee, crossed the Ohio into southern Indiana; then moving westward into southern Illinois, abided for a long time about the saline springs there, and mined vast areas of the chert beds in Alexander and Union counties. Following the Mississippi northward, they settled in the central part of the American Bottom, where numerous clusters of their

stone-lined graves attest quite a protracted period of undisturbed occupancy. From there they passed westward beyond the Mississippi.

The builders of the huge earthworks in the American Bottom were Indians of other ethnic derivation, with widely different customs, and perhaps ranking higher in the scale of progress towards civilization. In what manner they disposed of their dead is still unknown. No cemeteries, and very few isolated graves certainly identified as theirs, have yet been discovered. Their custom in this respect may have been that of certain other North American Indians, in periodically gathering from the prairie and tree scaffolds, the desiccated bodies of their deceased kinsmen, and cremating them with barbaric ceremonies. Possibly future exploration of the smaller mounds in the Cahokia district may yet solve the problem of their mortuary usages.

With the knowledge we have of Indian life, it is not to be supposed that the tenancy of that splendid territory by the two early tribes mentioned was contemporaneous; and, with the limited reliable data available, the question of priority in possession has always been one difficult to determine. Upon this point the discovery of that stone-lined grave, above quoted, is valuable and almost conclusive. The description of the grave by Mr. Ramey leaves no room to doubt that it was made there by the only tribe of prehistoric times in the Mississippi basin, that invariably buried their dead in that way, and in consequence designated the Stone Grave Indians. Solitary graves of that kind—sometimes groups of two or three of them—have been found scattered over the country as far north as the Sangamon River, presumably grim mementos of casualties among those people during hunting expeditions. The fact that this cist, but three feet deep, was in the surface of an artificial mound proves it to have been an intrusive burial—of course, of much later date than the mound itself, and, inferentially, made there after all the mounds had been abandoned; which gives strong support to the view that the Stone Grave immigrants did not arrive in the American Bottom until long after the builders of the great temple mounds there had run their course and disappeared.

Dr. J. F. Snyder.

Virginia, Ills.

LEGENDS OF THE STARVED ROCK COUNTRY

By H. A. Rhoads

The old world does not stand alone in the universe of legendary lore; nor is it the only source of our romantic inspiration. Our own country is filled with those phases of human activity which stimulate the imaginative, both in history and poetry. Everywhere ungarnered material can be found which will form the substance for poem and song, rough and unshaped, but ready for the poet and singer. One of the many spheres or areas of romantic inspiration in the United States is the Starved Rock region of the Illinois. The Atlantic coast with its explorations, colonial and revolutionary lore; the middle west and its pioneer; the Rocky Mountain world with the glamor of the days of '49, the south and the Civil War; the Texas border-land and other regions can contribute to the realm that influences men's ideals and develops their creative imaginations.

In this Starved Rock region we have the tale of the early French explorer and the lost empire of New France. In attempting to put into cold historical prose the legends that are found in this region, one must remember that he should keep close to historical fact, and not wander too far into the realm of the romantic. So in presenting these legends, collected from many sources, it seems best to associate them with history as to their probable foundation and source.

In order to best understand the legends about our new State Park and its romantic associations, it is necessary to give a brief outline of its history—geological, ethnological and historical. Geologically, the Illinois River was once the outlet of the Great Lakes into the Mississippi. When the Niagara River broke through the heights at Lewiston and formed Niagara Falls, the Illinois dwindled to a mere memory of a great water artery.

The flood that once poured down into the Mississippi had carved its way through the hills into a deep wide channel. When the waters receded, they left standing, bold and precipi-

tous, a number of great promontories. Carved, as they were, from sandstone, they stood in bold relief from the rest of the high bluffs. Of these, Starved Rock was one. Rising one hundred and twenty-five feet from the river, it is a circle in form and contains a little more than one acre of ground. It is accessible only from the south side and is covered with trees and shrubs. Across, and one mile up the river, is Buffalo Rock, larger and almost as picturesque, while along either side of the Illinois River are high elevations of a similar nature.

On both sides running back from the bluffs are broad prairie lands, feeding the Illinois region. Near it are the Big and Little Vermilion and Fox rivers, and Bailey, Otter, Eagle, and Covall creeks, which are all heavily timbered with black and white walnut, elm, ash, hickory, maple and sycamore. About are numerous natural springs. Quantities of glacial drift, consisting of clay, gravel and granite boulders, are found everywhere. Especially fitted by nature for man's habitation, it early was the home of the mound builders, whose mounds and relics are found everywhere, and was also once the seat of the Illinois federation of Indians.

These Illini consisted of the Peorias, Moingwenas, Kaskaskias, Tamaroas and Cahokias, who formed a powerful confederacy. In summer they went as far west as Dakota country to hunt. In winter they congregated near Starved Rock.

Developing the legends of this country we shall start in with their great village near the rock, known to the French as La Vantum, La Vanta ("the washed"), and Kaskaskia. This village, for ages the seat of the Illinois confederacy, was located west of the rock south of the river, and furnished them with a winter home. The Jesuit Father, Claude Jean Allouez, found here a community of from three hundred to four hundred wigwams, and of eight thousand souls.

Here was fought the great battle between the Iroquois and the Illini. Here took place the desecration of the Illini dead, during one of the Iroquois raids, and here also was the Jesuit mission under Father Claude Jean Allouez. Tradition has it that La Vantum was strangely deserted from time to time. This can be easily explained by the shifting aboriginal population when they went, men, women and children, on their summer hunts. The name has a happy association in legend, being called La Vantum, "the washed," by the French, because of the clean sandy soil washed each spring by the river.

The name Kaskaskia has been confused in history with the newer Kaskaskia on the Mississippi. This is probably due to the fact that in 1700 the mission was moved to the river town of the same name.

The first legend of importance about La Vantum, in historical order, was the great fight of the Iroquois and the Illini. Aboriginal history has it that it started in the old ambition of the Iroquois to be a great power in the Indian world. Its date is uncertain, probably after the coming of the French. The tale is that the fight started at La Vantum. The Illini being weak, crossed the river and started toward its mouth in retreat while the invaders followed on the other side. By day and night the flight and pursuit continued. They were constantly in sight of each other. The battle calls and camp fires were always on opposite sides of the Illinois. The retreat was finally ended at the Mississippi by the Iroquois turning back.

Another story handed down is the fight of the "Six Hundred." The tribes of the Miamis and the combined Pottawatamies and Kickapoos, being at war for years, met in counsel and chose three hundred warriors to fight out their differences before the two tribes. After a three days' fight, five of the former and seven of the latter were left. The five fled and the victors were ever after the heroic figures of their tribes. This took place after the French had abandoned Starved Rock. Some of the heroes' names are recorded in history. Among them are Shady and Moschel, etc. Again, at La Vantum, Tonty defeated the Iroquois, as Champlain did, with firearms. Here in 1679 was the great defeat of the Illini by the same tribe of the six nations. The former lost three hundred to four hundred killed and nine hundred prisoners. And here once more the Iroquois, during the raid, found the inhabitants on a hunting trip, and being seized with an uncontrollable savage anger, dug up the dead and scattered the remains everywhere. Tonty found the place a charnel house on one of his trips. Possibly more legendary lore is found about Starved Rock than anywhere else in this Illinois region.

The rock was first seen in 1673 by Louis Joliet and Jaques Marquette, two French explorers sent out by Jean Talon, Intendant at Quebec. Joliet was born in 1645 in Quebec, the second son of Jean Joliet. He was educated in Jesuit College in the city of his birth. In 1673, with his priest companion Marquette, he ascended the Fox River at the portage of the Wis-

consin, and crossing, descended the latter into the Mississippi. They journeyed down the stream to the Arkansas and back up the Illinois into the Starved Rock country.

His religious associate was born at Laon, France, in 1637, and came to the new world in 1666, where, under Father Dablon, he worked among the Indians. After building a chapel at Mackinaw, he joined Joliet on this expedition.

About these two names hang the mists of romantic tradition, and more especially that of Marquette; the happiest one of which is the story of the devotion of his savage converts. Marquette having died and been buried in the wilderness, his devoted followers removed his remains and casing the bones in birch-bark, and after a long and tedious journey up the Illinois and along the edge of Lake Michigan, they buried him under his own chapel. The tradition runs that several scores of canoes made up the funeral cortege and that most of the traveling was done at night to avoid their enemies, the Iroquois.

Rene-Robert-Cavalier, Sieur-de-La Salle is the next heroic figure to come into history in this region. Born in Rouen, France, in 1643, the son of a rich merchant, he was educated in church influences, but later left to become a trader at La Chine, near Montreal. Learning from the Indians of the Ohio River, he obtained authority from Governor de Courcelles and Intendant Talon, and in 1669 is said to have discovered the Falls of the Ohio, at what is now Louisville. This present fact or fiction, as it may be, is still in dispute and forms the basis of a traditional visit of a white man to this region. After returning to Canada in 1671, after a visit to France, with Henry De Tonty and about twenty men, late in December in 1679, he reached the Illinois country, stopping at La Vantum. Early the next year (1680) he built a fort near Peoria Lake, and at his command one was built by Tonty on Starved Rock, and one at Wedron.

He was a heroic figure in those frontier days, as he gathered about him a confederation of Indian tribes which he ruled as a forest patriarch. One has no idea in this present age of the amount of influence wielded in this territory. Countless stories are told of the forest court that he must have held on the rock where he dispensed justice, bought furs, ruled his

savage tribes and planned a greater New France. This phase of his life is brimming full of legendary story. His great fight with his enemy La Barre, his hurried trip to France to combat his enemies at the court, his fights with the Recolet Brothers, he being a Jesuit; his quarrel with the two Pillette brothers, who formed a rival trading post at Buffalo Rock, near Starved Rock, have come into history. The greatest romance of all his life is probably his death. When but forty-three years of age, on a colonization scheme, he was killed on the Trinity River in Texas by his own men. The mystery of his death has appealed to many an imagination in song and story.

Next in this group of figures is Henry de Tonty, La Salle's lieutenant, son of Lorenzo de Tonty. He early entered French military life and at an early age, was a veteran in the wars of Sicily. A pleasant story associated with him is his first meeting with La Salle in Paris. As kindred spirits of adventure in some out-of-the-way Parisian wine shop, he boldly entered into La Salle's schemes, and for years dominated Starved Rock as his military leader. Having lost a hand in the wars in Sicily, he had the missing member replaced with one of iron. "Main-de-fer," "hand-of-iron," he was called by the Indians, who feared him and yet respected him. A story goes that a buffet from his iron hand was to be feared almost as much as a shot from his firearm. His devotion to La Salle has in it all the poetry of Richard Cœur-de-Lion's faithful attendant in the Holy Land.

A little-known story of Tonty's life is his expedition in 1688, with four Frenchmen and three Indians, to secure the Rio Grande country for France, as war had broken out between that country and Spain. He reached the Red River and returned in April the next year.

One of the happiest traditions about Starved Rock is that of Tonty's return. The Indians claimed that years after the rock had been abandoned, an old, bent, white-haired man came to the rock and seeking its highest spot in the autumn twilight, passed out into the next world. He was buried by a few aged savage patriarchs, and thus tradition says old "main-de-fer" dreamed out into the twilight his last hours where once he had ruled supreme. *Cold history says that Tonty died of yellow fever in the south, but we have the legend, so let it stand.

*Tonty probably died in 1704 at Fort St. Louis, near present site of Mobile.

A very pretty story is told of the Jesuit mission on the rock and its great gilt cross. It goes that one of the fathers erected a huge cross, thirty feet high, that could be seen for miles up and down the river by travelers by water. Later another cross was erected at the village of La Vantum.

The next story which clings about Starved Rock is the one that gave it its name. After the Pontiac conspiracy had verged into mist, the crafty leader still had visions of a great Indian confederation.[1] At the great mound at Joliet, while in a harangue to the gathered tribes, he is said to have spoken disparagingly of the Illini because they had not joined him in their great conspiracy. Angered by his remarks, an Illini chiefman cleft his skull. Immediately all of those under Pontiac's old-time influence vowed swift vengeance on the Illini and besieged them on the rock. After a period of fighting, hunger, thirst and exposure, they eventually starved to death.

A legend that follows this is one of the "Silent Men." Eleven Indians are said to have escaped from the rock in canoes during the thunderstorm, and being pursued down the river to St. Louis by their enemies, they were given refuge by the whites, who refused to give them up to the pursuers. Ever after they were known as the "Silent Men," and would never speak of their past, nor use the name of their tribe. So far as tradition has it, the Illini tribe passed out of existence with them, although history tells us that there were branches of it who signed government treaties and who moved west in 1820. Some of them joined the Miamis in war with the United States and suffered defeat by Mad Anthony Wayne, in August, 1794, concluding a treaty in August, 1795, and settled in Kaskaskia. As late as 1872, there were still forty of the ancient confederation alive.

One more person is said to have gotten from the rock by jumping off and swimming with a broken leg out of the reach of his enemies. Tradition is that two traders saw the buzzards flying about the rock while coming on a fur trading trip and fled down the river in terror. Another tale is that the Indians, after the victory, met near Wedron, and celebrated with a great feast.

Buffalo Rock has a host of traditions about it. The most prominent, or the one most referred to, is the two Pillette[2] brothers,

[1] Pontiac was killed at Cahokia in 1769, according to common belief.
[2] Pilet or Pilette brothers, Peoria and Illinois traders.

who built a fort there in opposition to La Salle and had a fur trading post. After the French occupancy of the rock, Michel Accault (or Accau) married Mary, the daughter of an Indian chief, as was common in those days. The unusual thing about it is that she, being a Christian, refused to marry the Frenchman until he had joined the church, and it is recited that the union was a very fortunate and happy one.

The tale of the lost copper mine is another thing that stirred the imaginations of the early explorers. The statement is made that Patrick Kennedy and several French Coureurs-de-bois hunted for this mythical copper mine for some time, but found no trace of it. The chances are that this lost treasure-trove was but the whisper of Indian tradition concerning the Lake Superior region.

The American fur traders in 1816 established several forts in this region and the suggestive conflicts with the Hudson Bay people is also lightly touched on in tradition.

The way to China or Cathay was a great stimulus for the early French explorer, and the Rapids at La Chine got their name from this alluring will-o'-the-wisp exploration. One of the early French explorers is said to have appeared in robes of State, when he expected to meet the great Chinese dignitaries and only found savage aborigines.

The trail of the beaver skin, which kept the wilderness in constant turmoil for a number of years, also served as a source of a large number of traditions, such as the quarrel over the supremacy of Fort St. Louis, the constant warfare between La Salle and his enemies, and the free lance fur traders, the Pillette brothers. An obscure tradition called Ulah, the story of Starved Rock, is also associated with legendary lore, with the usual accompaniment of two sweethearts of different tribes, a pursuing father and a final fierce struggle on the summit of the promontory, ended in the death of the two lovers. As every rock landscape must have its lover's leap, so has this region, although the names are unknown to memory. A bold cap of rock east of Starved Rock was the traditional place where the maiden cast herself in the Illinois river below.

Some of the most obscure legends which have not been touched upon are associated with the names of La Salle, Joliet, Marquette, Tonty, Frontenac, Talon, Hennepin, Zenobe Membre, Riborde, Allouez, the two Pillette brothers, Michel Accau, La Barre, La Forrest, De Lhut, San Bastian, De Joutel, Shab

bona, Sugar, Shaty, Shick-Shack, Meshal and others. These French and Indians were the prominent figures in those old days of tradition. There are countless tales told about this section and a number which are associated with pioneer days, but of these we have no great interest at the present moment. The customary prairie bandits, coiners, horse stealers, and gamblers, formed the usual background to our setting of pioneer days.

In respect to the legendary lore of Starved Rock very little that is good and a great deal that is mediocre has been written. The historians from the time of the Jesuit Relations to the present time have apparently done a very satisfactory work, but the romanticist is yet to come. Mrs. Catherwood, in her story of Tonty, and other works, has touched lightly on this region; Jones, with her "Ulah," has given us an extended poem of some length. The present day historians, such as Osman and Goodell, are really doing more meritorious work than any, at present, but the true beauty of the poetry of this region remains yet to be coined into thought.

While editor of the "Prairie State" magazine, the author of this article made an effort to put into verse the most prominent legends and legendary figures of this section in a way, and also to collect legendary data, but until the stimulating influence of Starved Rock as a state park came, very little was done to interest the outside world in this region. The day will come when Starved Rock will stand a monument high above all others in the northwest or in this section of the United States to the romantic and traditional history of our own country through the pen of some one who is yet to come.

AN ACCOUNT OF A PARTY PERISHING IN A BLIZZARD IN NORTHERN ILLINOIS

By W. H. Thacker, Arlington, Washington

In the summer of 1841, my father built a frame house into which he moved his family and, being a mechanic, converted the old cabin that had been our home into a workshop, where, during the inclement weather, much of his time was spent in making or repairing farm implements either for himself or his neighbors; such as cradles for cutting grain, scythe snaths for cutting grass, the woodwork for plows, ox yokes and sleds—in fact, almost any implement in demand in those early days before farm machinery was invented. When it was cold, a fire was made in the huge stone fire place that took up a large portion of one side of the room and the cabin was kept comfortable.

One day in mid-winter of 1841-2, father was at work in this shop, and the writer, then a small boy, was with him. The ground was covered with snow, the air was keen and bracing and the sun shone with unusual splendor; when, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, a team loaded with household effects and accompanied by two men, one woman and two small children—little girls—drew up to the door of the shop, which stood close to the roadside, to inquire in regard to their route. As soon as father saw the woman and children he invited them in to get warm; an invitation they readily accepted. Light, dry wood was thrown on the fire and in a moment the flames were roaring up the great chimney; blocks of wood were placed before the hearth, boards laid upon them and the travelers comfortably seated. One of the men went out to the wagon, returning with luncheon, a tea or coffee pot was brought forth, water procured at the well close by, live coals pulled out, tea or coffee brewed and the wayfarers were soon enjoying a good meal which all seemed to relish.

They said they had been on the road since early morning; that their destination was some forty-five or fifty miles to the northwest from where they then were, where they intended locating; that they expected to reach it by the evening of the next day and thought they would be able to stop overnight with some settler along the road. The nearest settler living on the route they were traveling was not less than twelve or fifteen miles distant; but this they did not know until father so informed them. They appeared to be very nice, refined people from some of the eastern States. After an hour's rest, they continued their journey.

About the middle of the afternoon, the weather suddenly changed, turning very much colder; the atmosphere taking on a peculiarly hazy appearance; the wind came in puffs with ominous lulls between, and then, almost before we were conscious of the change, the wind was howling from the northwest, bearing on its wings the terrible blizzard, such as sometimes in the winter seasons swept over those northern prairies during their early settlement; though I understand that during the past fifty years or so those storms have only appeared in that part of the country in mild form and the people of today are disposed to discredit the stories that have come down to them from the old frontier days of men and horses perishing in them.

Their approach, too, was sometimes most unexpected and sudden, and a beautiful, sunshiny day be turned into midnight darkness so quickly, that almost before he was conscious of the fact, the wayfarer found himself plunged, as it were, into a blinding tempest, the freezing wind loaded with fine snow, swirling and hissing, that stung the flesh like needles points.

If one who knew the danger was caught in the grip of one of those deadly storms, he at once sought shelter if there was any close at hand, if only an open shed or a bunch of thick standing bushes—anything to break the force of that death-chilling wind, and there he would fight with all his might and energy against the insidious drowsiness that was sure to come creeping on after one became thoroughly chilled, until the storm had spent its force; but if no shelter was at hand, then the only thing to do was to wrap up, if one had anything for the purpose, and lie down in the wagon or sleigh box, first unhitching the team, and lie there till the storm was passed; if one had nothing to wrap up in, then get out and take it afoot, it was his only salvation; while at home, his family, if he had one, would pile wood

on the fire, place tallow dips in the window and every little while open the cabin door, peer out into the tempestuous darkness and then gather silently around the hearth with anxious faces listening for the sound of approaching footsteps or a cry of distress; for well they knew that unless he had found shelter, after the storm had passed a searching party would lift from its winding sheet of snow the icy form of him they loved.

If, however, the unfortunate was a new-comer-stranger in this land of winter blizzards and summer paradise, and ignorant of the deadly nature of the warring elements into which he so suddenly and unexpectedly found himself enveloped, he was possessed with an almost uncontrollable desire to hasten forward with all speed and, shielding his burning cheeks and smarting eyes as best he could from the blinding storm, that appeared to blister his flesh wherever it touched, he struggled on; but after a time realizing that his strength was failing, his road obliterated and that he had lost all knowledge of his course, he wandered blindly; he no longer felt the chill that pierced his very bones, a drowsiness stole over him—the first touch of death, and after stumbling sleepily along a little way, he flung himself down in the snow, as careless of his surroundings as a drunken man, and sinks into unconsciousness and then death.

If mounted on horseback or with a team, the traveler possessed the same desire to speed forward. There was something so demoralizing—I might say, terrorizing—in one of those fierce blizzards that turned day into night, that none but those who had had experience with them appeared capable of retaining their mental equilibrium and of acting in the proper manner; and no wonder, for to find one's self, almost before he was aware of the change, plunged, as it were, into such swirling, hissing, drifting sheets of fine, ice-like snow, swept forward on a driving gale across an open prairie and with such force and fury that neither man or beast could face it, was a sufficient reason to cause almost anyone to lose his head. In a few minutes the road was obliterated and the wind seeming to come from every direction in its swirling motion, the traveler was utterly bewildered; if he attempted to guide the team, for some reason that has never been clearly explained, he was almost sure to travel in circles; if given the reins, instinct, or some other faculty higher than man's, would lead the horses to a human habitation, if there happened to be one in the vicinity; if not,

they drifted before the storm, taking refuge at the first protection, if only a bunch of thick standing brush or a deep gully.

It was the invariable custom among trappers and hunters, when caught in one of these cruel storms, to stop then and there unless very near their camp or shelter; if in the timber, build a fire at once and gather plenty of wood, and, if possible, make some kind of a wind break; then, by keeping up a roaring fire and constant vigilance against sleep, he was in little danger. If out on the open prairie when overtaken by a blizzard, they wrapped themselves in their blankets, lay down and allowed the snow to drift over them, and the quicker and deeper the better. There they would lie till the storm had passed and then crawl out of their snowy tomb untouched by the frost.

But to return to the unfortunate travelers who warmed and lunched at my father's shop.

As above stated, a terrible blizzard came on about the middle of the afternoon, turning daylight into midnight darkness, raging all night and most of the next day, which caused father a great deal of anxiety in regard to the travelers, and several times I heard him express his fears to my mother, that they must have been overtaken by the storm before they could reach shelter, and, knowing them to be strangers in the country and unacquainted with the danger, he feared for the worst. Later on his fears proved to have been well founded.

A day or so after the storm had passed, these people were found a few miles to the north and a little west from Elk Grove; all were frozen to death, including their horses.

The surroundings and conditions in which they were discovered presented as pathetic a picture, perhaps, as was ever beheld, illustrating the danger to strangers who were unacquainted with the peril of being overtaken by those terrible, death-dealing blizzards, especially on the open prairie with no shelter near.

Standing by itself on the bleak, snow-covered prairie, half a mile or more from the road, a lone wagon was seen standing, that appeared to be deserted; but, when approached, a man stood leaning against it, his icy hands grasping the edge of the box, as if in the act of climbing into it, his head bent forward, his white face and sightless eyes fixed upon a roll of bedding inside, which, upon investigation, was found to contain the inanimate form of a young woman who appeared to be in the bloom of life, her face possessing a refined and beautiful expres-

sion that the chilling breath of the blizzard could not change. She had the appearance of sleeping there in the open wagon, in the midst of that wind-swept and snow-covered waste, and it required a moment after the wraps were removed for the onlookers to realize that her bosom was not heaving nor her pulse throbbing with life.

Nestling by the young mother's side, but tucked inside of a feather bed among the feathers, were two little children—girls—about two and four years old, cuddled in each other's arms and to all appearances sleeping sweetly and soundly; and so they were believed to be; for it seemed hardly possible that the cold hand of the winter storm could reach them there, snuggled away in their nest of feathers; but when touched, it was found that as far as possessing life, they might have been babies carved out of solid ice by the hand of some inspired artist, so natural and beautiful were they in their icy sleep.

At the distance of a few hundred yards were found another frozen man and a span of frozen horses in the harness. To the quick eyes and thoughtful minds of those frontier people, accustomed to reading signs and symbols almost as readily as written words, the sad story of these unfortunate travelers was easily read as follows: They had reached a point not very far from where they were found, when the storm came upon them; that the little used road they were following was soon obliterated by the darkness and drifting snow, and becoming bewildered, they had traveled in circles as shown by the tracks of the wagon here and there over the prairie, instead of following their course; that they had neglected to wrap up the woman and children in the feather bed and bedding until they had become so chilled that it was too late to save them without artificial heat. That after securing the woman and children from the cold, as they thought, the men continued circling over the dark, storm-swept waste until hope was gone, and then decided that one of them should take the horses and seek assistance, if possible, while the other one remained with the wagon; but the one who remained was too far gone to climb into it; while the one found with the horses, from one of which he appeared to have fallen, was, no doubt, well nigh frozen when he started on his perilous mission, and being mounted on the horse so that he got the full force of the storm, was chilled to death in a few minutes.

As to the freezing of the horses: The men probably feeling the responsibility of protecting their helpless ones and anxious to

find a shelter, had driven as rapidly as possible, and the wagon being loaded, the team was jaded and hot, and when the rider fell off, stopped in their tracks and were frozen in a very short time.

The question may be asked: what should these people have done? There was one thing that could have been done to save them, and that was to have stopped on the first approach of the storm, unhitched their horses, and then huddling together in the wagon, and covering themselves with their bedding, remain there till the storm was over.

QUADOGHE

By J. Seymour Currey

This word, occurring as it does in old Indian treaties, deeds of sale, and on some of the maps issued in Colonial times, has been a puzzle to many students of the early history of the West.

Henry H. Hurlbut, in his work entitled "Chicago Antiquities," published in 1881, shows a facsimile of a portion of Mitchell's map of 1755. Upon a space just south of Lake Michigan, about where Michigan City is now located, is a region inscribed with this name. Commenting upon this and other features found on the map, Hurlbut writes: "Quadoghe has its place without any very definite appearance of what it is intended to mean, though believed to indicate the locality of an Indian tribe of that name at some former date."

The inscription on the map is as follows: "Quadoghe; so-called by the Six Nations, the extent of their territories and bounds of their deed of sale to the crown of Britain 1701, renewed in 1720 and 1744." The full text of the deed of sale thus referred to is given in the "New York Colonial Documents," Vol. IV, page 908; and is there described as a place "containing in length about eight hundred miles and in breadth four hundred miles." This estimate of its dimensions is, however, much exaggerated, without doubt.

In a volume entitled "Miscellanies," by Colonel Arent De Peyster, the British commandant at Detroit in 1781, there is given in a supplement at the end of the volume a list of Indian tribes. On page CVII of the supplement the name "Quatoghie" occurs, and in a parenthesis is given the name "Wyandots," with an explanation as follows: "Once southern side Lake Michigan; sold their lands to England in 1707." The writer of the supplement makes a mistake in the year in which the sale was made (1707 instead of 1701), and seems to regard the name as that of an Indian tribe.

That the name, or one quite similar to it, was applied to a tribe of Indians is, however, not to be denied. In the "New York Colonial Documents," Vol. V, page 791, the speech of an Indian chief, made in the year 1726, is given, in which he mentions among other tribes that of the "Quatoges." Also, in Vol. VI, page 391, of the same series, the editor, Dr. E. B. O'Callaghan, explains in a note that a certain tribe referred to in the text was "was probably Quatoghees or Hurons, settled at this time at Sandusky." The time mentioned was 1747.

Mr. John F. Steward of Chicago, who has given some attention to the subject, regards the word "Quadoghe" as meaning a boundary or a region marking a boundary (so named by the Iroquois), rather than as the name of a tribe. In a letter to the writer Mr. Steward states it as his opinion that Quadoghe refers to a "certain region." The Miamis of Upper Indiana were called "Twightwees" by the Iroquois. The latter, in the "deed of sale," referred to previously, regarded their territory as running westward "till it buts upon the Twightwees * * * by a place called Quadoghe."

In his work entitled "Lost Maramech," Mr. Steward gives on page 33 a facsimile of a fragment of Gibson's map of 1763, upon which is printed the name Quadoghe in the same position as found on many other maps of the period. Mr. Steward has a large collection of early maps and in the letter already referred to, he says that the name Quadoghe is found on the following maps: Mitchell's, 1755; D'Anville's, 1756; an official British map of 1763; Pownall's, 1777 and 1794; Baron de la Tour's, 1779 and 1784; and Bowles' map of 1783. The writer has also seen it on an old Italian map in the possession of the Chicago Historical Society with the inscription in the Italian language.

It is to be hoped that some investigator will find it worth while to make a more exhaustive examination of this subject than the present writer has been able to do. It seems quite impossible to find any description or discussion concerning the matter among our historical writers.

The title is a striking one, and there is here, one may believe, a field for a bit of historical inquiry that would well repay an investigation.

ROBERT STUBBLEFIELD, AND HIS SON, JOHN STUBBLEFIELD, PIONEERS OF McLEAN COUNTY, ILLINOIS

By George W. Stubblefield

Mr. Robert Stubblefield, subject of the following brief sketch, was born in the county of Halifax, State of Virginia, on the twenty-third day of November, A. D. 1793, and departed this life, suddenly, while in conversation with his son Jesse, sitting on the porch of his residence, on Wednesday, the eighth day of June, A. D. 1870, being seventy-six years, six months and fifteen days old.

He was baptized in infancy, in the Church of England, at Westover Chapel.

In his nineteenth year, at the first call for volunteers, he entered the service of his country, in the war of 1812. His company, consisting of ninety-six men, exclusive of officers, was stationed at Norfolk, Virginia; and all, except himself and one other soldier, soon died of the yellow fever, and he himself came very near dying of that fearful malady. He was regularly discharged, though by the death of his captain he failed to obtain his discharge papers; and by the authorities was conveyed to the place of his enlistment to die among his friends. By this removal and the attention of his friends, his life was preserved. His friends again removed him to the home of his brother, Edward Stubblefield; here he soon recovered his health; and his brother having located land in Ohio, and wishing to see after it, Robert, desiring to see the country, accompanied him thither, in 1812. He was now nineteen years of age. Mr. Edward Stubblefield, when locating land in Ohio, had boarded with Mr. Adam Funk, and had sold him some four hundred acres of land; and hence Edward and Robert directed their way to the house of Mr. Adam Funk, and thus, on his twentieth birthday, commenced his acquaintance with the family of Mr. Adam Funk.

He was married to Miss Sarah Funk, the fourteenth day of April, 1814, who died the thirteenth day of December, 1821.

About one month before her death she obtained the "pearl of great price," and died in the full hope of eternal life, requesting her husband so to raise their children that they might all meet her in heaven. Eight days after her death, her mother, Mrs. Nancy Funk, also died, in the hope of a better life in a brighter land. The triumphant death of these two individuals had a sanctifying influence, resulting in the reformation of the large part of the family of Robert Stubblefield and Adam Funk, and nearly all their family joined the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1822.

By this first marriage, Mr. Stubblefield had four children; Absalom, Ann, Mary and John.

On the twenty-ninth day of July, 1822, he was married to Miss Dorothy Funk, sister of his former wife, and who had joined the Methodist Episcopal Church on the eighteenth day of February, 1822. By this latter marriage, Mr. Stubblefield had nine children: George Meley, Jesse, Francis, Adam, Eve, Edward, Isaac, Frank, William Royal Chase and Charles Wesley, in all thirteen children. Jesse, the sixth child of Mr. Stubblefield, was the first white child born in Funk's Grove. Adam died, returning from Memphis, whither he had gone to visit Isaac, his sick soldier brother, and to seek for him a furlough, and bring him home.

These twelve children, together with forty-eight grandchildren, six great-grandchildren, ten sons and daughters-in-law, five grandsons and daughters-in-law, and the bereft widow, in all eighty-two, were present at the funeral obsequies of Mr. Stubblefield.

Robert Stubblefield was a son of Edward Stubblefield, senior, who was the son of John Stubblefield, who, with two brothers, Edward and William, came from England; Edward Stubblefield, senior, the father of Robert Stubblefield, married Miss Mary Lightfoot Munford, daughter of William Greene Munford; his wife's maiden name was Ann Stanhope; their daughter, Mary Lightfoot Munford, in the Revolutionary War, acted as private secretary to her father. Edward Stubblefield, senior, was a captain of a company in Colonel Munford's regiment. Mr. Robert Stubblefield, the subject of this sketch, was therefore a grandson of Mr. William Greene Munford and Ann Munford. Mr. Munford was from England, and served his adopted country as a colonel in the Revolutionary War. The Colonel not only devoted his personal energies, but loaned the government a

large amount of his means toward freeing his country from the Britannic yoke.

This loan, in consequence of the loss of the papers by fire, was never recovered, but in virtue of a provision made by Congress for the compensation of the Revolutionary soldiers and officers, Mrs. Mary Lightfoot Stubblefield, after the death of her father, Col. Munford, and being at the time his only surviving child, applied for and obtained a land warrant from the government for 6,666 acres of land. This warrant was laid on land in Ohio.

Mrs. Sarah, the first wife, and Mrs. Dorothy Stubblefield, the second wife of Robert Stubblefield, were daughters of Mr. Adam Funk.

Robert Stubblefield moved to Illinois in November, 1824. He stopped a short time with friends near the state line, between Indiana and Illinois, thinking to remain there over winter. But in consequence of a disease prevailing in the community, he determined to press on to his intended locality and reached Randolph Grove the sixteenth of December. He tarried here at the house of Gardner Randolph only two days, and on the eighteenth of December, 1824, he reached Funk's Grove, and stopped at the only house in the grove, a log-cabin, built by Absalom and Isaac Funk, and occupied by William Brock and family, with whom the two bachelor brothers boarded. Mr. Stubblefield brought with him his own family, consisting of his wife and five children. In Mr. Brock's log-cabin, with only one room, these three families spent six days together, doubtless very comfortably. During the interim Mr. Stubblefield, with the assistance of the entire community, erected a second log-cabin in the grove, near the first mentioned. In these two cabins the entire inhabitants of Funk's Grove passed their first winter in Illinois—the winter of 1824 and 1825.

During the next spring and summer, besides the necessary arrangements for, and the cultivation of, his first crop in Illinois, Mr. Stubblefield erected another and a more commodious and comfortable log-cabin on the bank of Sugar Creek on the north side of Funk's Grove, into which he moved his family in September, 1825. In the meantime, Jesse Stubblefield was added to the family, July 30th, 1825, the first white child born in Funk's Grove. About five years after this, Mr. Stubblefield built the third huge log-cabin, in which he lived eighteen years. This had a large room which served the use of the family and the

purposes of public worship. Afterward he built him a pretty commodious frame house, some two hundred yards north-west of his former home, where he continued to reside until the time of his death.

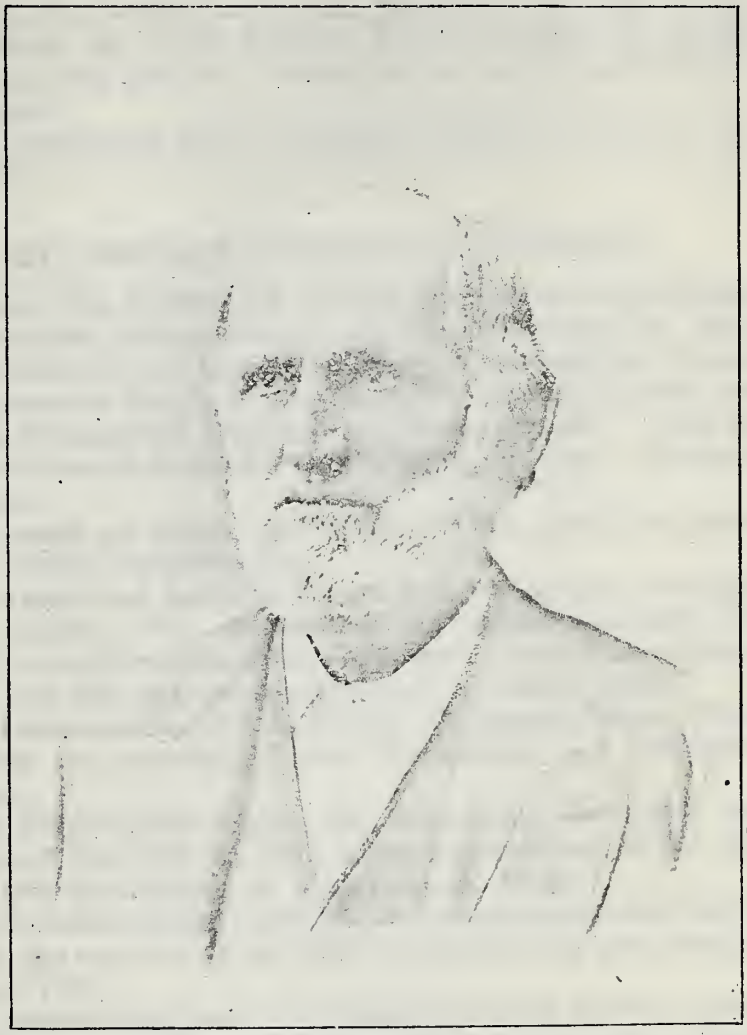
He was a man of stern integrity and firmness. When his judgment was formed, whether in politics or religion, it was next to impossible to move him from his purpose, or change that judgment. And one acquainted with him rarely attempted it. Perhaps the pertinacity with which he adhered to his own judgment sometimes became a fault.

JOHN STUBBLEFIELD

The Stubblefield family originated in England, three brothers, Edward, William and John, first emigrating from the mother country to America. The last named was the grandfather of John Stubblefield, whose life is here recorded. Edward and Mary (Munford) Stubblefield were the paternal grandparents and their lives were passed in Halifax County, Virginia.

When Robert Stubblefield brought his family from Fayette County, Ohio, to Funk's Grove, McLean County, his son John was about four and a half years old. He was educated in the district schools, and his playmates were the native Indian children who inhabited this locality, and they were numerous in 1824. When he had reached man's estate, he rented land of his father for about three years, after which, in 1844, he entered forty acres of land at $1.25 an acre. In 1846 he built a house on this tract of land; in 1857 he erected a more commodious residence, and this was ever after his home until his death, although he so increased his landed possessions that he eventually owned two thousand acres. For years he carried on extensive operations in general farming and stock raising, but gradually shared his large estate with his children until he only owned two hundred acres. For years he made a specialty of Percheron horses.

Mr. Stubblefield had been a Republican since the party came into existence, and before its organization he was a Whig. He served as supervisor of Funk's Grove Township for twelve years; was a member of the building committee which erected the Court House destroyed by fire; and was treasurer of the School Board for thirty years.



JOHN STUBBLEFIELD

Since he was eighteen years of age he had been a faithful and working member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, as was his venerable and honored wife. Nine children were born to Mr. and Mrs. Stubblefield, as follows: Sarah E., David R., George W., Phineas M., Mary Frances, Henry B., Simon P., Eddie (deceased) and John W. The last named resides on the family homestead.

Mr. Stubblefield died at his home in Funk's Grove in August, 1911.

ELLISANNAH HOUSER STUBBLEFIELD

Wife of John Stubblefield, and the daughter of David Houser and Elizabeth Dillman Houser, was born September 5th, 1820.

Her father, David Houser, was the son of Abraham Houser, of Hagerstown, Maryland, and his father, Abraham Houser, was born in Wondenberg, Germany, in the year of 1740. When he came to America he settled in Maryland, and was a Dunkard preacher.

He would not accept pay for his services, saying the gospel is and always should be free.

He owned and operated a grist mill, which had a whiskey still attached. The members of his church furnished the grain for charity purposes; he would distill it and make whiskey, which was sold and the proceeds used for charity work.

On December 2d, 1842, in Felicity, Clearmont County, Ohio, occurred the marriage of John Stubblefield and Ellisannah Houser.

The fiftieth anniversary of this most happy occurrence was celebrated December 2d, 1892, at the farm residence of Mr. and Mrs. John Stubblefield, at Funk's Grove, Illinois.

Mr. Stubblefield met his life mate at a singing school in Funk's Grove; she was visiting her sister, who had moved here from her home in Ohio.

Mr. Stubblefield made the trip to Ohio after his bride, going overland in a two-horse covered wagon, a journey of over three hundred miles. After the wedding they returned to their future home by wagon, camping on the way.

At first the young couple lived in a log cabin on the north edge of Funk's Grove; the roof was made of clapboards weighted down with poles.

Mrs. Stubblefield was a lover of home and took great comfort

in caring for and training her children. She was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and died March 3d, 1895.

"When we remember how our mother held us in her tender arms, nourished us upon her maternal bosom; kissed away our tears and fears with her own sweet lips of love; watched our first footsteps and marked with maternal interest the first words we uttered; how she followed our growing form and expanding mind to manhood and womanhood, it is not surprising that such a poet as Cowper should write, on seeing a portrait of his dead mother:

"Oh that these lips had language!
Life has passed with me but roughly,
Since I heard them last,
My mother, when I learned that thou wast dead,
Say, wast thou conscious of the tears I shed?
Hovered thy spirit o'er thy sorrowing son;
Wretch, even then, life's journey just begun.
Perhaps thou gavest me, though unfelt, a kiss,
Perhaps a tear, if souls can weep in bliss.
Ah, that maternal smile, it answers yes."

ELLISANNAH HOUSER STUBBLEFIELD
WIFE OF JOHN STUBBLEFIELD

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF A PIONEER OF LEE COUNTY, ILLINOIS

HENRY CHARLES FREDERICK HELMERSHAUSEN, JR., BORN APRIL 19, 1822—LIVING JANUARY, 1914

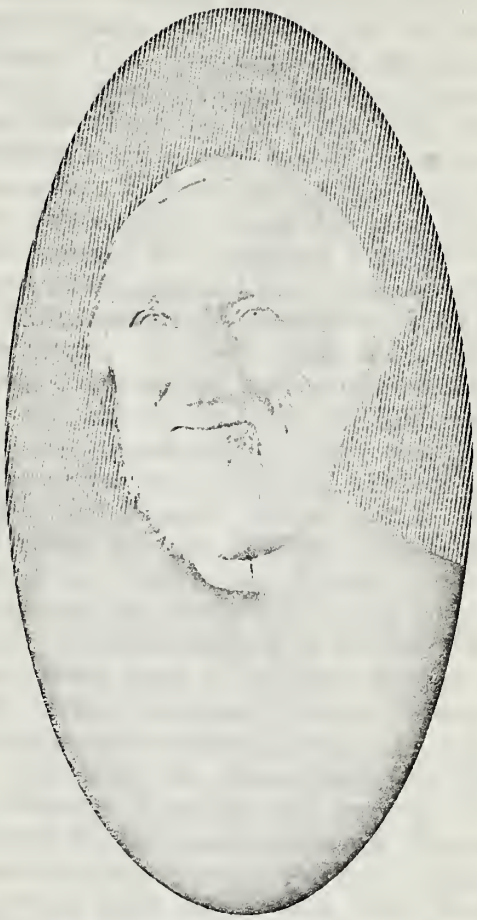
My grandfather was Dr. Henry Frederick Helmershausen. My grandmother was Anna Marsh. My father was Henry Charles Frederick Helmershausen, who was born August 12, 1789, and died March 20, 1869, aged 79 years, 7 months, 8 days. My mother was Jane Hilton, who was born March 21, 1790, and died December 4, 1878, aged 88 years, 8 months, 12 days. Both were born and brought up in the same town. My father's children were: Henry, Harrison, Harriet, Jane, myself, Sophia, Sylvanus, Faustina, Catherine, Norman, Eliza—eleven in all. Seven were born in Bremen township, Lincoln County, Maine, and the four youngest in Glenburn township, Penobscot County, Maine.

Eliza died in Glenburn township, Penobscot County, Maine, about two miles from Bangor, when she was a little girl.

The family moved to Penobscot County from Lincoln County when I, Charles, was four years old and Sylvanus was ten months old. We bought 125 acres of land, the second farm from Bangor township line over north into Glenburn township. The city of Bangor covered the township of Bangor. We were twelve miles from Old Town. Built a log house and a log barn, and then a frame house. We lived there fourteen years, then moved to Illinois. Henry and Harrison came in 1838, father came in the summer of 1840, and mother, I, Sylvanus, Faustina, Catherine and Norman came in November and December, 1840. We took Capt. Parker's boat down the Penobscot River to New York city; came up the Hudson River to Albany, across Erie canal to Buffalo; took the old "General Wayne," a boat, to Toledo; came on a corduroy railroad to Adrian, Michigan, and stopped to see Silas Sears, who had moved a year before from Glenburn. He was a neighbor and a great

friend of father. We rented a house of a man named Bachelor and remained a month. I girdled trees while waiting. As soon as Mr. Penfield (who lived where Miles Bahan did later, on the road from Franklin Grove to Amboy) came for us with one team, the household goods were repacked and the family came to Illinois the latter part of December. I (Charles) and Sylvanus walked all the way. Catherine rode, and in a jolt fell off, but grabbed "Old Colonel's" tail and saved herself an injury. The horses stood still until she got safely into the wagon. It was very cold, but I kept warm walking. The others were warmly wrapped up, as mother had brought much bedding. We arrived Thursday night at Lee Center, where mother remained all night at Russell Linn's house, while I, with Sylvanus, walked over to Col. Nathan Whitney's frame house and he directed us to father's cabin near Franklin creek. We were very glad to see father and he was very glad to see us. The next day (Friday) I walked to what is now the village of Franklin Grove and shot a wild turkey. On Monday I went out and helped Col. Whitney. In the spring we set out trees in his nursery. We planted the "old orchard." He was a fine man and I had many pleasant and profitable conversations with him. We began to buy land and farm it, enduring the usual hardships of pioneers. We slept in the loft of the cabin, and when we arose in the morning often brushed away a snow-drift. But were happy and contented. We teamed to Peru and to Chicago. We had solid silver spoons, large and heavy, which our mother had from her family, the Hiltons. She had also a string of gold beads which were from her family, and which each baby had worn. The marks of my first teeth are on them yet, as I was the only child, mother said, who bit the beads. We went to "singing schools," "spelling schools," on winter evenings, driving often many miles. We were not annoyed by wolves or wild animals. There were no Indians in our vicinity.

In 1853, thirteen years after, I went back alone attending the Great Fair at New York city, which was a very celebrated fair at that time. Uncle Fredcrick, who was five years older than father, had married Miss Lydia McLintock, of a Scottish family. They lived at Jefferson on a farm. They used the name "Helmershausen" in full. Rev. Edwin Helmershausen, William and Charles were my three cousins, each Uncle Frederick's son's; and the four girls were Maria, Nancy, Eleanor, Jane. One son, Robert, was dead. Maria, who married Capt.



HENRY CHARLES FREDERICK HELMERSHAUSEN, JR.
Born April 19, 1822—Living 1914

Eber Montgomery, was a large, intelligent woman of strong and ready mind, and my father esteemed her highly. Jane never married, but lived with Charles, her brother. She kept the data and traditions of our family. She had a pair of silver knee-buckles which General Washington gave our father's father in the Revolutionary war; and a pair of cuff-links he used to wear marked "C." She kept the knee-buckles and gave me the cuff-links, thus dividing the two pieces of silver which grandfather cherished between his two sons' sons. There was grandfather's crest and coat-of-arms, which was not used in our country. I visited my mother's mother. She was "Grandmother Peaselee" by name, for after Grandfather Hilton's death she married Mr. Jonathan Peaselee. She had two sons, Jacob and Riley, whom I saw. She also had a son Reuel. They were my mother's half-brothers, both Baptists, and she lived with Jacob. She was dark, lean, tall, and although nearly ninety years of age, was vivacious and sensible to converse with. She sat up firm and straight and walked one-half mile from Jacob's home to the Baptist church and back on each Sabbath day unless very inclement weather prevented. She had Jane, John and Samuel Hilton, Jacob, Reuel and Riley Peaselee. I think she was different from mother, and that mother favored her father, the Hiltons, and that my uncle John Hilton favored his mother, for Uncle John was tall, dark and handsome. Grandmother lived at the forks of the road near Jefferson, Riley lived a half mile farther on. Her daughter Jane, my mother, married Charles Helmershausen. James Hilton was lost at sea and deeply mourned. John Hilton lived in Augusta. His wife was Aunt Catherine Hilton, for whom my sister Catherine Twombly was named. They had five children, who were my full cousins: Charles, Eugene, Faustina, Catherine and a babe. Uncle John was a chaise-maker at Augusta, and owned three shops (iron shop, wood shop, trimming shop), so he could make all the parts of a chaise. They were very elegant conveyances in those days. He afterwards died and his family came west, stopped and visited us, and went on to Nebraska to settle. My people were "Pilgrim" people of England; that is, my ancestors were Puritans, they said, on my mother's side. I went back the second time, 1858, and in June, 1885, the third time, and visited William and Charles at East Jefferson. I saw the same old knolls, hills and waters. The house father built was standing in Glenburn

township, and Norman, who was with me, went in and said "I was born in this room." The house was in excellent condition, being shingled to the ground. Harrison, Norman and I went in 1885. I went to a little schoolhouse in Glenburn township, on William Sherman's farm. Years ago we spelled in Webster's Speller and we had much mental arithmetic. I used to spell the school down, for I worked in school. Some of our neighbors in Glenburn township were the families of Samuel Dole (who had ten children) and lived opposite our house: Silas Sears, Andrew Merrill, Martin White, William Sherman; also the Websters, Abbots, Clarkes, Merrills. I read in a Bangor paper this week that Olive Merrill was dead, aged 80 years. She was a schoolmate of ours in that little red schoolhouse. There is no one left; if I should go back, there are only the old hills and trees and rocks, but it is strange how plainly I can see them all, distinctly and perfectly, and yet it is a great while ago—a great while. My grandfather fought under General Washington; my father was in the 1812 war; I am here, and there has been a great deal of history since we three lived; great history; it comes back and I remember them. It is strange one remembers his youth so long!

Signed and written down, Sabbath evening, April 9, 1905.

HENRY CHARLES FREDERICK HELMERSHAUSEN, JR.

Ancestry of Henry Charles Frederick Helmershausen, Jr.

1. JONAS HELMERSHAUSEN.
2. GEORG CASPER HELMERSHAUSEN.
3. GEORG FRIEDRICH HELMERSHAUSEN.
4. DR. GEORG FRANZ FRIEDRICH HELMERSHAUSEN.
5. DR. HENRY FREDERICK HELMERSHAUSEN.
6. HENRY CHARLES FREDERICK HELMERSHAUSEN.
7. HENRY CHARLES FREDERICK HELMERSHAUSEN, JR.

1. WILLIAM HILTON of Hilton Point, Dover.
2. WILLIAM HILTON of York, Maine.
3. LIEUT. WILLIAM HILTON.
4. STILSON HILTON.
5. SAMUEL HILTON.
6. JOHN HILTON.
7. JANE HILTON.

THE SIDNEY BREESE PAPERS

An Important Gift to the Illinois State Historical Society and Library

The Illinois State Historical Library has received a most important gift through the generosity of Mr. Sidney Breese, of Springfield, Ill., who has presented the Library with a large collection of the letters and papers of his grandfather, Sidney Breese, United States Senator from Illinois 1843–49, Justice of the Illinois Supreme Court of Illinois 1857 until his death in 1878, and more than one term Chief Justice.

The elder Sidney Breese was a native of Whitesboro, N. Y., and came to Illinois in 1818. His career in Illinois was long and distinguished from his first official service as Postmaster at Kaskaskia and assistant Secretary of State of Illinois in 1820—during which latter service he supervised the removal of the records of the State from Kaskaskia to the new capital at Vandalia—to the office of United States Senator and associate and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Illinois.

Sidney Breese graduated at Union College in 1818, and the same year came to Illinois. He was a most courtly and polished gentleman and was of distinguished lineage and family connections, his mother having been the daughter of Henry Livingston and of the noted New York family of that name.

Sidney Breese was married at Kaskaskia in 1823 to Eliza, the daughter of William Morrison, one of the pioneer merchants of the Mississippi Valley.

In the United States Senate, Sidney Breese performed for his country a great and patriotic service in his labors in behalf of the proposed Illinois Central and Pacific railroads.

His clear and prophetic vision seems most remarkable in view of subsequent events. He was much interested in the history of Illinois and the Mississippi Valley, and on December 12, 1842, he delivered an historical address, by invitation, before the

General Assembly of Illinois. This interesting historical paper was found among the effects of Judge Breese and edited by Hon. Thomas Hoyne, and accompanied by a biographical memoir of the Author by Hon. Melville W. Fuller, it was published in 1884 under the title of the "Early History of Illinois from its Discovery by the French in 1673 until its Cession to Great Britain in 1763." This invaluable historical document has been widely read and much quoted. Judge Breese, says Judge Fuller, "in this field anticipated the researches of many who have since won in it great distinction."

In 1835, Judge Breese moved from Kaskaskia to Clinton County, and took up his residence upon what became known as the Mound Farm, near Carlyle. In 1845, he moved into the town and that little city was his home the remainder of his life.

He died June 28, 1878.

This article is intended only to briefly sketch the career of Judge Breese in order to remind our readers of his distinguished service to the State, and of the opportunities which his life and labors afforded of correspondence with distinguished men of the State and country during his long official career.

This collection is the largest and most noteworthy single collection of letters which the Historical Society and Library has ever received, and the Board of Trustees of the Library has accepted the gift most gratefully on behalf of the State of Illinois. The collection has been called the Sidney Breese Collection, in honor of its generous donor.

The papers will be carefully preserved and collated, and they will probably be published, although no definite conclusion has been reached as to the manner of publication.

In the papers presented by Mr. Breese are letters from:

Stephen A. Douglas; General James Shields; Senator James Semple; Senator Richard M. Young; Gov. William H. Bissell; Colonel Don Morrison; President Van Buren; Secretary of State Lewis Cass; Simon Cameron, Lincoln's first Secretary of War; Melville W. Fuller; Justin Butterfield; Governor A. C. French; Governor J. A. Matteson; Chief Justice John D. Caton; John Wentworth; Thomas Hoyne; David L. Gregg; Commodore Perry; Governor John Reynolds; Gustavus Koerner; Joseph Phillips, first Chief Justice of Illinois; N. H. Ridgely; Charles H. Lanphier; Thomas Hope; Bishop Doane; Bishop Potter; Declaration of Ebenezer Bourn, one of the soldiers in Col.

George Rogers Clark's expedition in 1778, in the capture of Kaskaskia; Elias Kent Kane; William Engle; Letter of Thomas B. Reed to William Morrison, of December 19th, 1820; a list of Captain Charleville's Volunteers, entitled to 200 acres of land each; E. Menard; A. B. Johnson; Solon Borland; Mason Brayman; James H. Hackett, the actor, father of the present James K. Hackett; John A. Kennicott; Charles Fletcher; together with numerous old documents, maps and writings.

EDITORIAL

JOURNAL OF
THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Published Quarterly by the Society at Springfield, Illinois
JESSIE PALMER WEBER, Editor

Associate Editors:
J. H. Burnham, Andrew Russel, H. W. Clendenin, William A. Meese, George W. Smith, E. C. Page

Applications for Membership in the Society may be sent to the Secretary of the Society, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber, Springfield, Illinois.

Membership Fee, One Dollar, Paid Annually. Life Membership, $25.00

VOL. VI JANUARY, 1914 No. 4

THE GETTYSBURG SEMI-CENTENNIAL

On November 19, 1913, the Illinois State Historical Society held a special meeting in commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the dedication of the Gettysburg National Cemetery, November 19, 1863, at which time Mr. Lincoln delivered the immortal Gettysburg address.

Dr. Otto L. Schmidt, the President of the Society, introduced Governor Dunne, who presided. The Governor in a most happy manner spoke of the meaning of the celebration, and of the beauty and wisdom of the Gettysburg address. His presence and interest was much appreciated by the Society.

The program as printed in the October Journal of the Society was exactly carried out.

It was one of the most successful and largely attended meetings ever given by the Society.

An impressive feature was the presence of Stephenson Post G. A. R., of Springfield. The veterans, headed by the color bearer, marched into the Senate chamber, where the meeting was held, and they were received with great enthusiasm. The soldiers who were at the battle of Gettysburg were asked to come to the platform and Mr. Everett Jennings, the principal speaker of the evening, addressed them and the other soldiers

in a most eloquent manner. The Woman's Relief Corps was also present, and occupied seats specially reserved for them.

The address of Judge J. O. Cunningham, of Urbana, on his personal recollections of Mr. Lincoln, was a most interesting talk. Judge Cunningham is one of the founders of the Historical Society, and has been one of its directors since its organization. He is in excellent health and is vigorous, and his voice is good. His intimate relations with Mr. Lincoln and his affectionate recollections of his great friend made his address most affecting and inspiring, and seemed to bring Mr. Lincoln very close to the minds and hearts of the audience.

The address of Mr. Everett Jennings was most eloquent and appropriate.

Prof. F. G. Blair, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, spoke of the influence of Abraham Lincoln upon the school children of America, and related many anecdotes of the value of the life of Lincoln as an inspiration and example to the youth of the country. The address was admirable in every way.

EXERCISES AT GETTYSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

Four Who Heard Speech, Present on Anniversary

Gettysburg, Pa., on Nov. 19, 1913, did honor to the fiftieth anniversary of the delivery of Lincoln's address on the occasion of the consecration of the soldiers' national cemetery November 19, 1863. Special exercises were held in a local theatre at which addresses were made by four citizens who heard Lincoln fifty years ago—former Judge William T. McClean, Prof. J. Calvin Hamilton, Dr. T. C. Billheimer and Dr. P. M. Bikle. The oration was delivered by the Rev. J. B. Baker, and the history of the cemetery was recited by William McSherry.

MARRIED SIXTY YEARS

Judge and Mrs. J. O. Cunningham Receive Friends in Observance of Anniversary on October 13, 1913

Mr. and Mrs. J. O. Cunningham celebrated on Monday, October 13, 1913, the sixtieth anniversary of their marriage. The season also marked a like period of their continuous residence in Champaign County. On that day, between the hours

of 2.30 and 5 P. M., and also between the hours of 7 and 9 P. M., they received, informally and socially, all friends who called upon them at their residence, 922 West Green St., Urbana.

The Historical Society congratulates the Judge and Mrs. Cunningham upon this happy occasion and wishes for them many more years of life and happiness.

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN

Exercises commemorative of the long services of Reuben Gold Thwaites to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, were held in the Assembly Chamber in the State Capitol at Madison at four-thirty P. M., on Friday, December 19th, 1913.

The Memorial Address was delivered by Frederick Jackson Turner, LL.D:, of Harvard University.

Prof. M. M. Quaife, formerly of Lewis Institute, Chicago, a member of the Illinois State Historical Society, and a frequent contributor to its publications, has been appointed Superintendent of the Wisconsin Historical Society to succeed the late Reuben Gold Thwaites. The Wisconsin Society is to be congratulated upon securing the services of such a painstaking and thorough historian as Professor Quaife for this responsible position.

The Illinois State Historical Society also congratulates Professor Quaife upon this splendid opportunity of doing a great work in the field of American history.

ORGANIZE MONTGOMERY COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Pursuant to a call made by the Relic Committee of the Old Settlers' Association, about fifty citizens of the county expressed their desire to organize a Montgomery County Historical Society, and quite a number of these, personally and by proxy, met in Hillsboro on September 26, 1913, and effected an organization, adopted by-laws and elected officers.

The following were selected as officers for the first year: Edward C. Richards, president; Judge Amos Miller, first vice-president; Mrs. Jane Vawters, second vice-president; Frank

P. Winchester, recording secretary; A. T. Strange, corresponding secretary; R. E. Gifford, treasurer; and Charles A. Ramsey, Stephen D. Canaday, David Ware, Mrs. Laura Clotfelter and Carl Weber were selected as an Executive Committee.

A letter was read from the Hon. J. Nick Perrin, of Belleville, in which he gives a concise and valuable history of Montgomery County, from its earliest history and up to its organization as a county. The letter is a valuable document, and on motion it was ordered spread on the minutes of the Society, and a vote of thanks sent to Mr. Perrin for the contribution. A committee, consisting of the president, secretary and corresponding secretary, was appointed to look up a suitable place to hold meetings and to preserve and place on exhibition such documents and relics as may from time to time be donated to the Society.

The meeting then adjourned subject to a call by the president.

Mr. Perrin's Letter.

Mr. Perrin's letter is as follows:

"Belleville, Illinois.

Mr. A. T. Strange, Hillsboro, Ill.

Dear Sir:—Since arriving home from the Old Settlers' Picnic, where I met you for a few moments relative to the formation of a local historical association, I decided to send you some historical information that may be of service to you.

Montgomery County, whose area seems to be about 702 square miles, was settled as early as 1816 by Americans. Its organization as a county took place in 1821. It was named after Gen. Richard Montgomery. Montgomery was born in Ireland in 1736. He participated in the army with Wolfe. He was a delegate to the first Provincial Congress in New York City. He had settled in New York and married Chancelor Livingston's sister. He became a Brigadier-General in the Continental Army. He was second in Command to Schuyler in expedition to Canada. Through illness of Schuyler, the command devolved on him. He fell at Quebec in 1775.

Allow me now to trace the chain of title to your county in a systematic way as it descended through all its stages and through the various changes made from the time of the Northwest Territory through the Indiana and Illinois Territory, and through Illinois' existence as a state down to the present.

1790, Northwest Territory, embraced in St. Clair and Knox counties.

1801, Indiana Territory, embraced in St. Clair County.

1809, Illinois Territory, embraced in St. Clair County.

1812, embraced in Madison County.

1817, embraced in Bond and Madison counties.

1818, State of Illinois, embraced in Bond and Madison counties.

1821, State of Illinois, Montgomery County established. Embraced all the area of the present county except jut-off in extreme eastern portion, which was in Fayette County. Also embraced the southwest portion of the present Christian County.

1827, the jut-off in extreme eastern portion added so that Montgomery County embraced all its present area plus the southwest portion of Christian County.

1839, Dane County established.

1840, name changed to Christian. Southwest portion of present Christian County taken out of northeast part of Montgomery County and your present area has remained since as Montgomery County.

Your county containing its present area has belonged successively either wholly or in part to St. Clair, Knox, Madison, Bond, Fayette and Montgomery counties.

Your county was organized Feb. 12, 1821. See laws 1821, p. 142. As you will be 100 years old in 1921, it is highly appropriate that you form a historical association and make arrangements in ample time looking forward toward the celebration of your Centennial. Hoping that this data will be of some value to you and being ready at any time to be of whatever assistance I can be to you, I remain,

Yours respectfully,

J. Nick Perrin."

E. S. WILLCOX OBSERVES TWO ANNIVERSARIES—MAKES PEORIA HISTORY.

"I don't know who could have told it, or how it leaked out, but it is true. I have been librarian of Peoria public library for twenty-two years today and in the library service in Peoria for forty-eight years today."

Librarian E. S. Willcox made this confession November 11, 1913. The day marked the passing of a milestone in the career of this man which few in present-day life can boast of attaining. For over forty of the forty-eight years Mr. Willcox has been a director of the several succeeding Peoria city libraries and has managed to maintain each successfully.

He grew reminiscent when questioned about his unique anniversary, and went on:

"Yes, fifty years ago when I came to Peoria from Galesburg, the city had a library of two thousand volumes, a library known as the 'City Library' and maintained by a system of fees which members were required to pay. Each member paid two dollars per year. It had been running four or five years when I took hold of it a little later. It was located in the block opposite the court house on Main street in one room upstairs. The librarian was a clergyman.

"I had been a teacher in Knox college and also librarian of the school library, but had been forced out through the ravages of the civil war on the student body. I, with some of the then older citizens of Peoria, built up Peoria's first free library.

AUTHOR OF BILL.

"Later, in 1872, I managed to get the state legislature to pass the 'Free Library Bill,' which provided for public libraries in all cities and which is still in force with similar laws in all other states of the union. I was the author of the bill and I did everything to see it worked out.

"In support of this bill we directors began to promote plans for building a new library. After some effort we got a fund started. Tobias Bradley gave $1,000 to start it, and others came in until we raised $10,000. With that we purchased Peoria's first public free library. It was the old Griswold residence at the corner of Main and Adams streets. We raised $13,000 more money and remodeled the place; occupied it for a few years, borrowed $32,000 on it, and built the present

'Old Library' building. The top floor of this building was used as the library and the lower floors were rented out for a good revenue. Some time later I was elected librarian and have since occupied that place.

SOLD FOR $75,000.

"After my incumbency of office I found the place unsuited for the purpose and planned another building. We sold the property for $75,000, got a free grant of land from the city and built the present Peoria Public Library on Monroe Street in 1897.

"When I started with the library there were 2,000 books; now there are 125,000 volumes, a branch library in Lincoln Park and a promise of another branch library for the north end of the city. The library is in good condition in every respect. We have room for expansion, both in books and building. The success which followed the library seems to have followed the properties on which it was begun, for only a few weeks ago the old site of the first free library was sold for over fifteen times what it cost forty-one years ago. Ah! times have changed."

BOOK REVIEWS

THE GEORGE ROGERS CLARK PAPERS, 1771–1781

Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Volume VIII. Virginia Series, Volume III. Edited with notes by James Alton James. Springfield, Illinois, 1912. Pages clvii, 715.

Reviewed by O. M. Dickerson, Winona, Minn.

Each additional volume of the *Collections* of the Illinois State Historical Library impresses one more strongly that a piece of work of great importance has been undertaken and is being executed in a most scholarly manner. The present volume maintains the high standard of the series. Like its predecessors, it is divided into two parts—an introduction and a set of documents.

The *Introduction* is almost a book in itself and comprises a narrative history of events in the west so far as they concern Clark and the American settlements. It is divided into sixteen logical sub-divisions with appropriate headings, such as: contest for Indian alliance, Morgan vs. Hamilton, defense of the frontier, the struggle for Vincennes, plans to capture Detroit, finances and government, etc. Professor James has used in its preparation the primary and secondary material bearing on the field as a whole, so that he presents an account based upon more material than is any other history of the period. Naturally the earlier sections are founded largely upon standard secondary authorities and make little pretense of contributing new information, as they are solely introductory to the general theme; but the later sections are of a very different character and show the results of painstaking work. The account here is drawn exclusively from original material and adds considerably to our knowledge of Clark's work after 1779. The sections dealing with Spanish intrigue in the North West and the various attempts to capture Detroit are especially valuable, and are destined to become the leading authority in the field.

Clark's conquest of the North West has attracted so much interest and has been so frequently described by careful historians that a later investigator could not hope to disclose facts

startlingly different from those in print. Professor James has, however, given us an account that is different from all the others both in what it tells and what it refrains from telling. What it lacks in rhetorical figures it makes up in solid facts and in accuracy, and while it confirms the main story of the older accounts it is likely to displace most of them. It is not only an excellent introduction to what follows, but is of sufficient intrinsic worth to be published separately for the benefit of hundreds who will not care to handle it in the bulky volume of which it forms a part.

The *Papers* themselves are the most important part of the volume. These have been collected from London, Seville, Richmond, Madison, Pittsburgh, Washington, the Canadian Archives, and various private sources, and have been printed with scrupulous care so as to retain the original text, punctuation, and spelling. Papers written in a foreign language have been carefully translated, and original and translation appear on the same page. Not all of them are new. Many of them have been printed before, some in the preceding volumes of the *Virginia Series*. Nevertheless, it is worth while to have them all gathered together and printed in one collection, as it makes all of the papers equally accessible and gives opportunity for comparisons such as did not exist before.

All of the known letters and papers written by Clark are printed; also numerous others written to or about him and which were "considered essential to the explanation of the work." The real test of the value of this piece of work probably lies in the judicious care with which these supplementary documents have been chosen. They serve their purpose admirably, and, with the *Clark Papers* proper, give a much more accurate idea of the conditions under which Clark had to work than could be had from any secondary account.

The eastern speculator in western lands is in evidence throughout the volume. Even Clark and Governor Henry became "partners in taking up a body of land" just before the former started on his famous expedition (page 29). So even the principals in the great drama were looking after their own personal interests.

The fame of Kentucky and Illinois horses is not recent, for we learn on page 77 that in December, 1778, Clark was commissioned by Governor Henry to secure for him some especially

valuable horses and mares and forward them to his excellency in Virginia. Rules for selection were given by Henry that may well become classic.

The documents also throw side lights upon phases of the Revolution which are not generally understood, such as the use of paper money in the west, and the range of prices there and in the seaboard states. Even so far away as Kaskaskia, an attempt was made to withdraw from circulation issues of paper which had been called in by the home government (page 359).

The rise in prices due to the excessive issues of paper comes out in various ways. An official report in 1779 states that the depreciation at the western forts, as measured in coin, varied from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 30 to one. Evidently paper money continued to circulate in the west long after it had disappeared from circulation in the east, for in building the fort at Lexington common, labor cost fifty dollars a day; the use of a horse, twenty-five dollars a day; flooring, two dollars a square foot; and liquor for the men, one hundred dollars a quart. Prices in specie also show interesting variations, as: linen, six shillings a yard; coffee, ten pence a pound; white sugar, a shilling a pound; and chocolate, sixteen pence a pound. Carriage from Philadelphia to Ft. Pitt was estimated to add about one hundred and fifty per cent to the cost of the goods. It is these concrete touches which bring home to us the difficulties Clark had to encounter in fitting out his expeditions and how short of actual money he frequently was.

The volume contains valuable short appendixes, a brief bibliography, a list of the documents included, and an index. Probably the most important thing in the appendix is the discussion of the credibility of Clark's *Memoir*. Professor James concludes that it is more reliable than would appear from Roosevelt's severe criticism of it in *Winning of the West, vol.* II, and gives the evidence upon which he bases his conclusions. He does not attempt to prove that all of the *Memoir* is trustworthy, but he does show that some portions are dependable.

The index by Miss Doherty seems thoroughly workable, as it includes in its fifty-three pages, references to all persons, places, and events mentioned in the volume, and varying spellings of the same name are indicated. It is unfortunate that references to prices, money, labor, wages, and other items of importance to students of economic history have been omitted.

The volume as a whole is so well done that it leaves little room for adverse criticism. The reader wonders a little at the use of "forted" as a verb on page xxxiii, and why "draught" instead of the more common "draft" should appear in the heading on page 565. The volume should have a good set of maps showing the exact location of all places mentioned, and especially should the land claims and the villages of the various Indian tribes be indicated. It is hoped that such maps may be prepared for the volume that is to follow.

GIFTS OF BOOKS, LETTERS, PHOTOGRAPHS AND MANUSCRIPTS TO THE ILLINOIS STATE HISTORICAL LIBRARY AND SOCIETY

The following named books, letters, photographs and manuscripts have been presented to the Library. The Board of Trustees of the Library and the officers of the Society desire to acknowledge the receipt of these valuable contributions and to thank the donors for them.

Lincoln, Master of Men. A Study in Character. By Alonzo Rothschild. 531 p. 8vo. Boston and New York, 1906. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass. Gift of Mr. Alonzo Rothschild.

Memorial de Familles divise en trois parties Genealogie Le Sage avec annexe Hudon dit Beaulieu and Beland. Genealogies Martin & Hamlin y compris l'historique de chaque famille. 207 p. 12mo. Montreal, 1911. Gift of Mr. Charles B. Campbell, Kankakee, Ills.

La Genealogie de la Famille Savoie (origine Acadienne) Par Caroline Hamelin (née Martin). 64 p. 12mo. 1912. Gift of Mr. Charles B. Campbell, of Kankakee, Ills.

Kankakee County Circuit Court, May Term, A. D. 1912. Luther B. Bratton, Clerk. 70 p. 8vo. Kankakee, 1912. Kankakee Republican Printers. Gift of Mr. Charles B. Campbell, Kankakee, Ills.

Map of Will, Kankakee and part of Cook Counties. Published by P. M. Radford, Joliet, Ills. Gift of Mr. Charles B. Campbell, Kankakee, Ills.

Kankakee, Illinois. A steady growth—not a creation. Its story a tale of sixty years advancement and prosperity. Kankakee Commercial Assoc., pubs., n. p. 4to., 1913. Kankakee Republican Co., pubs. Gift of Mr. Charles B. Campbell, Kankakee, Ills.

Strange Family. Biographical and historical sketches of the Stranges of America and across the seas. Alexander Taylor Strange, comp. 137 p. 8vo., Hillsboro, Ills., 1911. Published by the compiler. Gift of Mr. Alexander Taylor Strange, Hillsboro, Ills.

Gresham Family. Biographical and historical sketches of the Greshams of America and across the seas. 52 p. 8vo., Hillsboro, Ill., 1913. Alexander Taylor Strange, comp. Published by the compiler. Gift of Mr. Alexander Taylor Strange, Hillsboro, Ills.

Selleck and Peck Genealogy. Compiled by William Edwin Selleck. 69 p. 8vo., Chicago, 1912. Privately printed. Gift of Mr. William Edwin Selleck, Union League Club, Chicago.

Illinois State Medical Society, Transactions of 1875, 1876, 1879, 1881, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1887, 1888, 1889, 1890, 1891, 1893, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898. 18 volumes. Gift of Dr. S. C. Plummer, 4539 Oakenwald Blvd., Chicago, Ills.

The Lincoln Trail. The Vincennes-St. Louis Good Roads Association. Official Road Guide. 96 p. 8vo. St. Louis Good Roads Assoc. Gift of Charles E. Hull, Salem, Illinois.

Illustrated Souvenir of Marseilles, Illinois. 16mo. Marseilles, Ills. Terry Simmons, Editor. Gift of Mr. Terry Simmons, Marseilles, Ills.

Isaac Funk—The Farmer and Legislator. An address by Thomas C. Kerrick. 21 pages. 2 copies. Gift of Mr. T. C. Kerrick, Minonk, Ills.

Charter, Constitution, By-Laws and List of Members of the Saint Nicholas Society of the City of New York, 1913. 113 p. 12mo. New York, 1913. Printed by the Society. Gift of the St. Nicholas Society, New York City, N. Y. Mr. Clarence Storm, Secretary.

Souvenir Program. St. Maurice Church Fair. Held at Friscoville Park. St. Bernard Parish, April 27-29, 1912. New Orleans, 1912. Gift of Mr. William Beer, Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, La.

Collinsville Herald.—Greater Collinsville Edition, Dec. 12, 1913. Frank Stucker, Editor. Gift of Mr. Frank Stucker, Collinsville, Ills.

Year Book of the Society of the Sons of the Revolution in the State of Illinois, 1913. Gift of Mr. John Crocker Foote, Belvidere, Ills.

Year Book of the Society of Sons of the Revolution in the State of Illinois. 133 p. 8vo., Chicago, 1913. Published by the Society. Gift of Mr. Frederick Dickinson, Secretary, Illinois Sons of the American Revolution.

Woodford County Historical Society. Tenth Annual Meeting of the Woodford County Historical Society, 1903-1913. L. J. Freese, President, Eureka, Ills. Gift of Mr. L. J. Freese.

Membership list of the McLean County Historical Society, May 25, 1913. Compiled and published by Milo Custer, Bloomington, Ills., 1913. Gift of Milo Custer.

Gettysburg Address (2 copies) on vellum and damask. Gift of James White Paper Co., 219 West Madison street, Chicago, Ills.

Letters patent to lands in Cook County, issued to Noah Greenwood, of Lake County, Illinois, for land subject to sale at Chicago, Ills., signed by James K. Polk, President, March 1, 1848. Gift of Mr. Finley Bell, Legislative Reference Bureau, Springfield, Ills.

Certificate and Record of Death of Alvin Granger Campbell, born Wyoming County, N. Y. 1826. Died Cortland Township, DeKalb Co., Ills., January 17, 1913. Soldier in Mexican War. Gift of the State Board of Health.

Lincoln Portrait (standing). Engraved in 1862. Gift of Mr. Ernst Hertzberg, Chicago, Ills.

Illinois Legislative Manual, 1875. Compiled by Edwin A. Wilson. 116 p. 12mo. Springfield, 1875. Journal Co., Printers. Gift of Mrs. William E. Fain, 825 N. 4th st., Springfield, Ill.

Journal of the Common Council of the City of Philadelphia for the year 1868. Vol. 2. 426 p. 8vo. Philadelphia, 1868. King & Baird, printers. Gift of Mrs. William E. Fain, 825 N. 4th St., Springfield, Ills.

Constitution and Laws of the Cherokee Nation. Published by authority of the National Council. 284 p. 8vo. St. Louis, 1875. R. & T. A. Ennis, printers. Gift of Mrs. William E. Fain, 825 N. 4th st., Springfield, Ills.

Legislative documents submitted to the 17th General Assembly of the State of Iowa, which convened at Des Moines, Jan. 14th, 1878. 8vo. Des Moines, Iowa, 1877. R. P. Clarkson, printer. Gift of Mrs. William E. Fain, 825 N. 4th st., Springfield, Ills.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society—Third Series, volume VII. 261 p. 8vo. London, 1913. Published by the Society. Gift of the Royal Historical Society.

The National Monthly Magazine, containing an article on Stephen A. Douglas, by John Sayles, published by Norman E. Mack, Buffalo, N. Y., March, 1910. Gift of Mr. Ensley Moore, Jacksonville, Illinois.

Brief history, Daughters of the American Revolution. 115 p. 8vo. Bloomington, Illinois. By Mrs. Adlai E. Stevenson. Pantagraph Pub. Co., pubs. 1913. Gift of Mrs. Adlai E. Stevenson, Bloomington, Illinois.

Semi-Centennial Celebration of the Settlement of Bishop Hill Colony, September 23 and 24, 1896. 48 p. 8vo. Gift of Mr. John Root, Galva, Ills.

NECROLOGY

MRS. KATHERINE GOSS WHEELER

The beautiful life of Katherine Goss Wheeler closed on Wednesday morning, November 19, 1913.

She died at her home in Springfield, Illinois, on that date, after a long, wearing and painful illness, borne with heroic courage. Her life exemplified a high and beautiful type of the woman of the Middle West—one who grew up with the west, lived through and took part in the struggles incident to its growth and development.

Katherine Goss was the daughter of Milo G. Goss and Katherine Everett Goss. She was born in 1840 in Parsonfield, Maine. When she was a young girl she came out to Michigan, then, on account of primitive modes of transportation, an immense distance from her New England home. In 1859, she was married at Kalamazoo, Michigan, to Samuel P. Wheeler, and the young married couple at once journeyed to their new home at Mound City, Illinois. This young bride with her fragile figure and flower-like beauty, who wore fashionable and handsome clothing, was looked upon with admiration and wonder by the people of the little border town. She at once entered into their life, took part in all their social and civic life and made them, indeed, her own people. S. P. Wheeler became one of the leading lawyers in Southern Illinois. He was a studious and very conservative man. He made up his mind with great deliberation, and only after consideration of every viewpoint. The vivacity and mercurial temperament of his wife made her disposition a direct contrast to his own, but each supplied to the other balance and together they possessed qualities which made their long married life ideal.

At the time of their marriage, the clouds of civil war had begun to gather and they resided on the borderland all during the stormy days from 1861 to 1865, helping keep Southern Illinois loyal and aiding the sick and needy soldiers and refugees.

They resided for many years at Cairo, where Mr. Wheeler engaged in the active practice of his profession. In 1887, the family removed to Springfield, where Mr. Wheeler became a

member of the law firm of Brown, Wheeler, Brown & Hay. Upon the arrival of the family at Springfield, Mrs. Wheeler at once became active in the social, church and club work of the city. When a bride of nineteen years she came to Illinois, she became a student of the history of her adopted State and with advancing years and more leisure this taste grew, and she studied Illinois in all its phases. She collected an unusual library of Illinois books, and she most diligently collected newspaper and magazine articles on topics relating to Illinois history.

She presented the State Historical Society with much interesting material along this line. When the Illinois State Historical Society was organized in 1899, she became one of its earliest members and her love for it and her interest in it did not abate while her life lasted. In her study of State history she became a great admirer of the character of Edward Coles, the second governor of Illinois, and she prepared an admirable paper on his life and services, which she read at the annual meeting of the Society in 1903, and it is published in its transactions for that year. She advocated a permanent memorial in some form by the State to the memory of Governo-Coles.

Mrs. Wheeler traveled considerably throughout the United States, and whenever it was possible she visited historical societies. She often expressed the hope that Illinois would in her life time erect an historical society building commensurate with its dignity and its history as its neighboring state, Wisconsin, has done. Mr. and Mrs. Wheeler created around them a beautiful home life. To them were born ten children, six of whom grew to maturity and survived their parents. To these children Mrs. Wheeler was mother, teacher, companion and friend.

Judge Wheeler died December 2, 1906, after a married life of forty-seven years.

After her husband's death, Mrs. Wheeler seemed to retire from general society, but to her home and her church and the Historical Society she gave a renewed and greater devotion.

For the last three years of her life she was an invalid, seldom able to leave her room, and much of the time unable to leave her bed, but she retained her unusual beauty and daintiness of attire, and it was a privilege to visit her and to talk with her on the subjects so dear to her heart.

She died November 19, 1913.

The Historical Society lost, by her going away, one of its earliest and most valued members, whose interest in and enthusiasm for the Society and its affairs was of the largest aid and inspiration to it and its officers. She was a member of the Second Presbyterian Church and the Every Wednesday Club of Springfield. Her surviving children are Willard Wheeler, of Cleveland, Ohio; Mrs. Edith Avery, of Peoria; Mrs. Abigail Holmes, of St. Louis; Mrs. Bessie Phillips, of Indianapolis; and Mrs. Caroline Woodworth. Miss Harriet Wheeler, of Springfield, the youngest daughter, survived her parents, and although herself an invalid, assisted most lovingly in the care of her mother, but she died on January 11, 1914, outliving her mother less than two months.

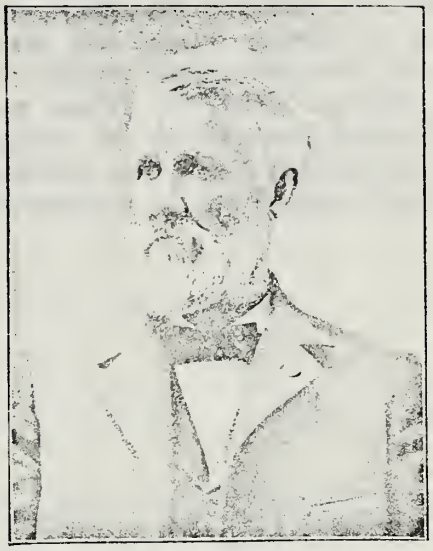
T. G. CAPPS ANSWERS LAST ROLL CALL

Thornton Gilmer Capps, one of Greenfield's best known and most highly respected residents, who had been confined to his home for the past few months from an attack of Bright's disease and dropsical complications, passed peacefully into his last long sleep at his home in that city on Thursday, December 11, at 9:45 p. m., aged seventy-five years, ten months and seven days.

The deceased was the son of John and Sally Taliaferro Gilmer Capps, and was born in Adams County, Illinois, February 4, 1838, and came to the Asbury vicinity with his mother when a boy. He attended school in Greenfield until he was fifteen or sixteen years of age, when he started out in the world for himself, working for a number of years in Davenport, Iowa, and St. Louis, as a painter and paperhanger, in which profession he was an expert. He taught school for a few terms, and on August 15, 1862, he enlisted in Company E, 122d Illinois infantry volunteers, and served until the end of the war of the rebellion, being promoted to the rank of lieutenant and received the brevet rank of captain for faithful and meritorious service in behalf of his country, being mustered out of service July 15, 1865. Upon returning from the war, he farmed for a year or two with his brother Caleb near Palmyra.

He was married to Miss Anna Hartsook, of Greenfield, Ill., December 31, 1867, and they lived in Greenfield and vicinity. The wife departed from earth June 14, 1913, and six months later her devoted life's companion joined her on the other side of the "great divide." Four children were born of this union, three of whom survive: John H., of Snyder, Okla.; Chas. C., of St. Louis, and Miss Mabel, who has always made her home with her parents. One son, Willie, died in infancy, February 22, 1876. Mr. Capps had two brothers—Caleb, who still lives in Palmyra, and John T., who died in Springfield, Ill. He also had two half-sisters and two half-brothers.

He joined the Masonic order in 1859 and was the oldest member in the Greenfield lodge. He was also a member of the



T. G. CAPPS

Royal Arch chapter and had been honored with the highest honors in both lodges. He took great interest in the public schools and for many successive years served on the board of education. He was also a member of the G. A. R. In the M. E. church he was a faithful and active member, serving on the official board and was a teacher in the Sunday school for many years.

He was a man who made it a practice of speaking no ill of his fellowman, and who lived a clean, upright and blameless life, one devoid of all sham and pretention, and in which moral rectitude and purity of purpose were the guiding stars.

Funeral services were conducted at the M. E. church, the local Masonic lodge and G. A. R. post attending in a body. Rev. W. G. Lloyd delivered the funeral sermon to an audience which filled both the church auditorium and Sunday-school room. The interment was in the North cemetery at Greenfield, under the auspices of the Masonic fraternity, H. H. Montgomery, of Carrollton, delivering a beautiful oration. Mr. Capps was an early member of the Illinois State Historical Society.

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No. 2. *Information relating to the Territorial Laws of Illinois, passed from 1809 to 1812. Prepared by Edmund J. James, Ph. D., 15 pages, 8vo., Springfield, Ill., 1899.

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No. 4. *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1900. Edited by E. B. Greene, Ph. D., secretary of the Society. 55 pages, 8vo., Springfield, Ill., 1900.

No. 5. *Alphabetic Catalogue of the Books, Manuscripts, pictures, and curios of the Illinois State Historical Library. Authors, Titles, and subjects. Compiled by the Librarian, Mrs. Jessie Palmer Weber. 363 pages, 8vo., Springfield, Ill., 1900.

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*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 1, Edited by H. W. Beckwith, President Board of Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 642 pages, 8vo., Springfield, Ill., 1903.

*Illinois Historical Collections Vol. 2. Virginia series Vol. 1. Edited by Clarence W. Alvord, CLVI and 663 pages, 8vo., Springfield, Ill., 1907.

*Illinois Historical Collections Vol. 3. Lincoln-Douglas Debates of 1858. Lincoln Series, Vol. 1. Edited by Edwin Erle Sparks, Ph. D. 627 pages, 8vo., Springfield, Ill., 1908.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. 4. Executive Series Vol. 1. The Governors' Letter Books, 1818-1834. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Clarence Walworth Alvord. XXXII and 317 pages. 8vo. Springfield, Ills., 1909.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol 5. Virginia Series, Vol. 2. Kaskaskia Records, 1778-1790 Edited by Clarence Walworth Alvord, L and 681 pages, 8vo., Springfield, Ills., 1909.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VI. Bibliographical series. Vol. 1. Newspapers and periodicals of Illinois, 1814-1879. Revised and enlarged edition. Edited by Franklin William Scott. CIV and 610 pages, 8vo., Springfield, Ill., 1910.

*Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VII. Executive Series Vol. II. Governors' Letter Books, 1840-1853. Edited by Evarts Boutell Greene and Charles Manfred Thompson. CXVIII and 469 pages 8vo., Springfield, Ill., 1911.

Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. VIII. Virginia Series, Vol. III. George Rogers Clark Papers 1771-1781. Edited with introduction and notes by James Alton James. CLXVII and 715 pages, 8vo., Springfield, Ill., 1912.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. I, No. 1 September 1905. Illinois in the Eighteenth Century. By Clarence Walworth Alvord, University of Illinois, 38 pages, 8vo., Springfield, Ill., 1905.

*Bulletin of the Illinois State Historical Library. Vol. 1. No. 2. June 1, 1906. Laws of the Territory of Illinois, 1809-1811. Edited by Clarence W. Alvord, University of Illinois, 34 pages, 8vo. Springfield, Ill., 1906.

*Circular Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. 1. No. 1. Nov. 1905. An outline for the study of Illinois State history, compiled by Jessie Palmer Weber and Georgia L. Osborne. 94 p, 8 vo., Springfield, 1905.

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*Out of print.

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